The Arte

of Rhetorique, for the vse of all suche as are studious of Eloquence, sette forth in English, by

THOMAS

wilson.

Anno Domini.

M. D. LIII.

Mense Ianuarij.

Given to me by Mr Samuel Johnson 1765

G. STEEVENS

GVALTERVS HAD.

DONVS D. IVRIS CIVILIS, ET OXO-
nienſis Collegij Magdalenenſis Præſes.

Rhetorikὴ, λογικὴ ſoror, eſt affata ſororem:
Quem didicit nuper, ſermo Britannus erat.
Rhetorikὴ tacuit, magno perculſa dolore:
Nam nondum noſtro nouerat ore loqui.
Audijt hæc, λογικῆς, Vuilſonus forte, magiſter
Qui fuerat, noſtros addideratq; ſonos:
Rhetorikὴν mutam, uerbis ſolatus amicis
Seuocat, & rogitat num eſſe Britanna uelit.
Deijciens oculos reſpondit uelle libenter,
Sed ſe, qua poßit, non reperire, uia.
Ipſe uias (inquit) tradam, legeſq; loquendi:
Quomodò perfectè uerba Britanna loces.
Liberat ille fidem, noſtro ſermone politur
Rhetorikὴ, noſtra eſt utraque facta ſoror.
Anglia, nobilium ſi clarus ſerta ſororum
Eſt tibi, ſermonis charta & author erit.

BRITISH MUSEUM

NICOLAI VDALLI IN OPERIS COMmendationem Tetrasticbon.

VT Logice, lingua nos est affata Britanna
Sic modo Rhetoricè uerba Britanna sonat.
Vtraq; nempe soror, patrem cognoscit eundem
Anglia iam natis mater, utramq; fouet.

ROBERTI HILERMII
IN RHETORICEM THOmæ Vuilsoni, Epigramma.

ANglia serua diu, & quondam uexata Tyrannis,
Libera nunc regnat, Rege potita pio:
Et cui iura dedit Roma imperiosa tot annos,
Legibus ipsa suis uiuit, & imperijs.
Libertas igitur, regniq; antiqua potestas
Reddita nunc Anglis, quos rigat Oceanus.
Quod licet egregium, & decus immortale parenti
Conciliet magno: Rexq; Edoarde tibi:
Gloria prisca tamen gentis, uel nomen auitum
Hoc est: nam fuerant libera sceptra tuis.
At quòd barbaries uestris nunc exulat oris,
Pulsaq; rusticitas his dominata prius:
Hoc opus, hoc uestrum est, uobis per secula famam
Quod dabit, & uestrum nomen ad astra feret.
Barbara gens siquidem, gemino sub Principe tali
Artibus enituit nobilitata bonis:
Moribus & compta est laudandis arte magistra:
AEditaq; ingenij sunt documenta uirûm.

Vuilda

Viuida testantur uigilem monimenta laborem,
Scriptaq; tot, nulla quæ moritura die.
Exemplum mihi sit de tot Scriptoribus, unus
(Namq; ommes celebres nemo referre queat,)
Vuilsonus, patrio sub quo sermone magistro,
Pierides Musæ perdidicêre loqui.
Cui tamen haud satis est, quod cum ratione loquantur,
Ni quoq; concinnè, non putat esse satis.
Atq; ob id addubitans, ne operi pars ulla deesset,
Hisce dedit Musis, hanc modo Rhetoricem.
O quanta his scriptis, linguæ, regniq; futura est
Maiestas, & honos: si fauor adfuerit.

THOMAS VVILSONVS IN Anglicam Rhetoricen.

ANglia si doceat, quod Græcia docta: quid obstat
Quo minus ex Anglis Anglia, uera sciat.
Non (quia Græca potes, uel calles uerba Latina)
Doctus es, aut sapiens: sed quia uera uides.
Aurea secreto tegitur sapientia sensu.
Abdita sensa tenes Anglus? es ergo sciens.
Sed mea Rhetoricen nequeat cûm lingua polire:
Cui uacat, hoc unum quod ualet, oro uelit.

To the right ho-

norable Lorde, John Dudley, Lorde Lille, Earle of Warwike, and maister of the horse to the kynges maiestie: your assured to commaund Thomas Wilson.

When Pyrrhus Kynge of the Epirotes made battrayle agaynste the Romaynes, & could neither by force of Armes, nor yet by anye Policye winne certayne stronge holdes: he vsed cómunely to send one Cineas (a noble Oratour, and sometimes scholer to Demosthenes) to perswade with the Capitaynes & people that were in them, that they shoulde yelde vp the sayde holde or townes without fyght or resistaunce. And so it came to passe, that through the pithye eloquence of this noble Oratoure, diuers stronge Castels and Fortresses were peaceablye geuen vp into the handes of Pirrhus, whyche he shoulde haue founde verye harde and tedious to winne by the swoorde. And this thynge was not Pirrhus himselfe ashamed in his commune talke to the prayse of the sayde Oratoure, openlye to confesse: allegynge that Cineas throughe the eloquence of his tongue, wanne moe Cityes vnto him, then euer him selfe shoulde els haue bene able by force to subdue. Good was that Oratour

whiche coulde do so muche: & wise was that king which woulde vse suche a meane. For if the worthines of eloquẽce may moue vs, what worthier thing can there be, thẽ with a word to winne cities & whole coũtries: If profite may perswade, what greater gayne can we haue, then withoute bloudshed to achiue a conquest: If pleasure may prouoke vs, what greater delite do we know, thẽ to se a whole multitude with the onely talke of a man rauished & drawen whiche waye him liketh best to haue them: Boldly then may I aduenture and without feare steppe forthe to offer that vnto your Lordeshyppe, whiche for the dignitye is so excellente, and for the vse so necessarye: that no man oughte to be withoute it, whiche either shall beare rule ouer manye, or muste haue to do wyth matters of a Realme. Consideringe therfore your Lordshyps hyghe estate, & worthy callyng, I knowe nothyng more sittynge wyth your honoure, then to the gyfte of good reason and vnderstandynge, wherwith we see you notably endued, to ioyne the perfection of Eloquente vtteraunce. And because that aswell by your Lordeshyppes moste tender imbracynge of all suche as be learned, as also by your right studious exercises, you do euidently declare, not onely what estimation you haue of all learnynge and excellente qualities ingenerall, but also what a speciall desyre and affection you beare to eloquence: I therfore commende to youre Lordeshyppes tuition and patronage, thys traictise of Rhethorique, to

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the ende that both ye maye get some furtherance by the same, & I also be discharged of my faithefull promyse this laste yere made vnto you.
For where as it pleased you emonge other talke of learnynge, earnestlye to wyshe that ye myghte one daye see the Preceptes of Rhetorique sette forthe by me in Englyshe, as I hadde erste done the Rules of Logique: hauynge in my Countrey thys laste Somer a quiet time of vacation wyth the ryghte worshypfull sir Edwarde Dymmoke knyghte: I traueyled so muche as my leasure myghte serue therunto, not onelye to declare my good harte to the satisfiynge of youre requeste in that behalfe, but also throughe that your mocion to helpe the towardnes of some other, not so well furnished as your Lordeshyppe is. For as touchinge your selfe, by the tyme that perfect experience of manifolde and weyghtye matters of the commune weale, shall haue encreased the eloquence, whyche alreadye dothe naturallye flowe in you: I doubt nothing but that you wil so farre be better then this my boke, that I shal not onelye blowshe to chalenge you for a Scholer, in the Arte of Rhetorique, by me rudelye sette forthe: but also be driuen to sette this simple Traictise to your Lordshyppe to Schole, that it may learne Rhetorique of youre daylye talke, fyndynge you suche an Oratoure in your speach, as greate Clarckes do declare what an Oratoure shoulde be.

In the meane ſeaſon I ſhall ryghte humblye beſeche your good Lordſhippe ſo to be a Patrone and defendoure of theſe my Laboures to you dedicated: as I ſhal be a continuall peticioner vnto almyghtye God for your preſeruation, and longe continuaunce.

¶ Eloquence first

geuen by God, after loste by man,

and laste repayred by God agayne.

MAn (in whom is poured the breathe of lyfe) was made at hys firste beinge an euerliuynge Creature, vnto the likenes of God, endued with reason, and appoynted Lorde ouer all other thinges liuing. But after the fall of our firste father, Sinne so crepte in, that our knowledge was muche darkened, and by corruption of this oure flesshe, mans reason and entendement were bothe ouerwhelmed. At what time God beinge sore greued with the folye of one man, pitied of his mere goodnesse, the whole state and posteritie of mankinde. And therefore (wher as throughe the wicked suggestion of our ghostelye enemye, the toyfull fruition of Goddes glorye was altogether loste:) it pleased our heauenly father to repayre mankynde of hys free mercye, and to graunte an euerliuynge enheritaunce vnto all suche as woulde by constante fayth seeke earnestlye thereafter. Longe it was ere that man knewe himselfe, beinge destitute of Gods grace, so that al thinges wared sauage, the earth vntilled, societye neglected, Goddes will not knowen, man agaynste manne, one agaynste another, and all agaynste order. Some liued by spoyle, some like brute Beastes grased vpon the ground, some wente naked, some romed lyke woodoles, none did aught thing by reason, but most did what they could, by manhode. None almoste considered the euerliuynge God, but all liued moste communely after their owne luste. By death they thoughte that all thinges ended, by life they loked for none other liuynge. None remembred the true obseruation of wedlocke, none tendered the education of their children, lawes were not regarded, true dealinge was not once

vled. For vertue, vyce bare place, for right & equitie, might vled auctoritie. And therfore where as man through reason might haue vled order, manne throughe follye fell into erroure. And thus for lacke of skill, and for wante of grace, euyll so preuayled, that the Deuyll was moste esteemed, and GOD either almost vnknowen emonge theim all, or elles nothinge feared emonge so manye. Therefore euen nowe when man was thus paste all hope of amendemente, God still tendering his owne workemanship, stirred vp his faythfull and elect, to perswade with reason, all men to societye. And gaue his appoynted ministers knowledge bothe to se the natures of men, and also graunted them the gift of vtteraunce, that they myghte wyth ease, wynne folke at their will, and frame theim by reason to all good order.

And therefore, where as Meune lyued Brutyshlye in open feldes, hauing neither houle to shroude them in, nor attyre to clothe their backes, nor yet anye regarde to seeke their best auayle: these appoynted of God called theim together by vtteraunce of speache, and perswaded with them what was good, what was badde, and what was gainefull for mankynde. And although at firste, the rude coulde hardelie learne, & either for straungenes of the thing, would not gladlye receyue the offer, or els for lacke of knowledge could not perceyue the goodnes: yet being somewhat drawe and delighted with the pleasantnes of reason, & the swetenes of vtteraunce: after a certaine space, thei became through nurture and good aduisement, of wilde, sober: of cruel, gentle: of foles, wise: and of beastes, men. Suche force hath the tongue, and such is the power of eloquence and reason, that most men are forced euen to yelde in that, whiche most standeth againste their will. And therfore the Poetes do feyne that Hercules being a man of greate wisdome, had all men lincked together by the eares in a chaine, to drawe them and leade them euen as he lusted. For his witte was so greate, his tongue so eloquente, & his experience suche, that no one man was able to withstand his reason, but euerye one was rather driuen to do that whiche he woulde, and to will that

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whiche he did, agreing to his aduise both in word & worke, in all that euer they were able.

Neither can I see that menne coulde haue bene brought by anye other meanes to lyue together in felowshyppe of life, to mayntayne Cities, to deale trulye, and willyngelye to obeye one another, if menne at the firste hadde not by Art and eloquence perswaded that, which they ful oft found out by reason. For what manne I praye you beinge better able to maintayne him selfe by valeante courage, then by liuing in base subiection: would not rather loke to rule like a lord, then to lyue lyke an vnderlynge: if by reason he were not perswaded that it behoueth euerye man to lyue in his owne vocation, and not to seke anye hygher rowme, then whereunto he was at the firste appoynted? Who woulde digge and delue from morne till euening? Who woulde trauaile and toyle with the sweate of his browes? Yea, who woulde for his kynges pleasure aduenture and hasarde his life, if witte hadde not so wonne men, that they thought nothing more nedefull in this world, nor anye thing wherunto they were more bounden: then here to liue in their duty, and to traine their whole lyfe accordynge to their callynge. Therfore where as menne are in manye thynges weake by Nature, and subiecte to much infirmitye: I thinke in this one point they passe all other Creatures liuynge, that they haue the gift of speache and reason.

And emonge all other, I thinke him most worthye fame, and emongest menne to be taken for halfe a God, that therin dothe chiefelye, and aboue all other, excell menne, wherin men do excell beastes. For he that is emonge the reasonable, of all moste reasonable, and emonge the wittye, of all moste wittye, and emonge the eloquente, of all moste eloquente: him thincke I emonge all menne, not onelye to be taken for a singuler manne, but rather to be counted for halfe a God. For in sekynge the excellencye hereof, the soner he draweth to perfection, the nygher he commeth to GOD who is the chiefe wisdome, and therefore called God, because he is most wise, or rather wisdome it selfe.

Nowe then seinge that God geueth his heauenlye grace vnto all suche as call vnto him with stretched handes, and humble harte, neuer wantynge to those, that wante not to them selues: I purpose by his grace and especial assistence, to set forthe preceptes of eloquence, and to shewe what obseruation the wise haue vsed in handeling of their matters, that the vnlearned by seinge the practise of other, may haue some knowledge them selues, and learne by their neyghbours deuise, what is necessarye for them selues in their owne case.

What is Rhetorique.

RHetorique is an arte to set furthe by vtterraunce of wordes, matter at large, or (as Tullie doeth saie) it is a learned, or rather an artificiall declaracion of the mynde, in the handelyng of any cause, called in contencion, that maie through reason largely be discussed.

¶ The matter whereupon an Oratour must speake.

AN Oratour must be able to speake fully of all those questions, whiche by lawe and mannes ordinaunce are enacted, and appoynted for the vse and profite of man, suche as are thought apte for the tongue to set forward. Now Astronomie is rather learned by demonstracion, then taught by any greate vtterraunce. Arithmetique finally lieth the vse of eloquence, keepyng it maie be had wholy by nombryng onely. Geometrie rather asketh a good square, then a cleane flowyng tongue, to set out the arte. Therfore an Orators profession, is to speake onely, of all suche matters as maie largely be expounded, for mannes behoue, and maie with muche grace be set out, for all men to heare theim.

Rhetorique occupied aboute all lawes, concernyng man.

Questions of two sortes.

¶ Of Questions.

EVery question, or demaunde in thynges, is of two sortes. Either it is an infinite question, and without ende, or els it is definite, and comprehended within some ende.

Those questions are called infinite, whiche generally are propounded, without the comprehension of tyme, place, and person, or any suche like: that is to saie, when no certain thyng is named, but onely woordes are generally spoken. As thus, whether it be best to marie, or to liue single. Whiche is better, a courtiers life, or a scholers life.

Questions infinite.

Those questions are called definite, whiche set furthe a matter, with the appoynctment, and nampng of place, time and persone. As thus. Whether now it be best here in Englande, for a Priest to Marie, or to liue single. Whether

Questions definite.

it were mete for the kynges maiestie, that now is, to marie with a straũger, or to mary with one of his awn subiectes.

Questions definite, belong properly to an Orator.

Now the definite question (as the whiche concerneth some one persone) is moste agreyng to the purpose of an Orator consideryng particuler matters in the Lawe, are euer debated betwixte certain persones, the one affirmyng for his parte, and the other denyng, as fast again for his parte.

Questions infinite, proper vnto Logicias

Thynges generally spoken without al circumstaunces, are more proper vnto the Logicia, who talketh of thynges vniuersally, without respect of persone, time, or place. And yet notwithstandyng, Tullie doeth saie, that whosoeuer will talke of a particuler matter, must remẽber that within the same also, is comprehended a generall. As for example. If I shall aske this question, whether it be lawfull for Willyam Conqueroure to inuade Englande, and wynne it by force of armour, I must also consider this, whether it be lawfull for any man, to vsurpe power, or it be not lawfull. That if the greater cannot be borne withall, the lesse cannot be neither. And in this respecte, a generall question agreeth well to an Orators profession, and ought well to be knowen, for the better furtheraunce of his matter, notwithstandyng the particuler questiõ, is euer called in controuersie, and the generall onely thereupon considered, to comprehende and compasse the same, as the whiche is more generall.

¶ The ende of Rethorique.

Three thynges are required of an Orator.

Orators bound to perfourme thre thynges.

To teache.
To delight.
And to perswade.

First therefore an Orator muste labour to tell his tale, that the hearers maie well knowe what he meaneth, and vnderstande him wholy, the whiche he shall with ease do, if he vtter his mind in plain wordes, suche as are vsually receiued, and tell it orderly, without goyng aboute the bushe. That if he dor not this, he shall neuer do the other. For what manne can be delited

Plain wordes proper vnto an Orator.

or yet be perſwaded, with the onely hearyng of thoſe thynges, whiche he knoweth not what thei meane. The tongue is ordeined to expreſſe the mynde, that one mighte vnderſtande anothers meanyng: Nowe what auaileth to ſpeake, when none can tell, what the ſpeaker meaneth? Therefore Phauorinus the Philoſophier (as Gellius telleth ỹ tale) did hit a yong man ouer the thumbes, very handſomely forvſyng ouer olde, and ouer ſtraunge woordes. Sirha (q he) when our old great auncetters and graundſires wer aliue thei ſpake plainly in their mothers tongue, & vſed old language, ſuche as was ſpoke then at the buildyng of Rome. But you talke me ſuche Latin, as though you ſpake with them euen nowe, that were two or three thouſande yeres ago, and onely becauſe you would haue no man, to vnderſtand what you ſaie. Now wer it not better for the a thouſand fold (thou fooliſhe fellowe) in ſekyng to haue thy deſire, to holde thy peace, and ſpeake nothyng at all? for then by that meanes, fewe ſhould knowe what were thy meanyng. But thou ſaieſt, the olde antiquitee doeth like thee beſt, becauſe it is good, ſobre, & modeſt. Ah, liue man as thei did before thee, and ſpeake thy mynde now, as menne do at this daie. And remember that, whiche Ceſar ſaith, beware as long as thou liueſt, of ſtraunge woordes, as thou wouldeſt take hede and eſchewe greate rockes in the Sea.

A Philoſophiers wittie ſaiyng to a yong manne, that ſoughte to ſpeake darke language.

The next parte that he hath to plaie, is to chere his geſtes, and to make thē take pleaſure, with hearyng of thynges wittely deuiſed, and pleaſauntly ſet furthe. Therfore euery Orator ſhould earneſtly laboure to file his tongue, that his woordes maie ſlide with eaſe, and that in his deliueraunce, he maie haue ſuche grace, as the ſound of a lute, or any ſuche inſtrument doeth geue. Then his ſentencies muſt be well framed, and his wordes aptly vſed, throughout the whole diſcourſe of his Oracion.

Orators muſte vſe delightful woordes, and ſaiynges.

Thirdly, ſuche quickneſſe of witte muſt be ſhewed, and ſuche pleaſaunt ſawes ſo well applied, that the eares maie finde muche delite, whereof I will ſpeake largely, when I ſhall entreate of mouyng laughter. And aſſuredly nothyng is more nedefull, then to quicken theſe heauie loden

wittes of ours, and muche to cherishe these our lompishe and vnweldie natures, for except menne finde delight, thei will not long abide: delight theim, and wynne them: werie theim, and you lose theim for euer. And that is the reason, that menne commonly tary the ende of a merie plaie, and cannot abide the halfe hearyng of a sower checkyng Sermon. Therefore, euen these auncient preachers, must now and then plaie the fooles in the pulpite, to serue the tickle eares of their fleetyng audience, or els thei are like some tymes to preache to the bare walles, for though the spirite bee apte, and our will prone, yet our flesshe is so heauie, and humours so ouerwhelme vs, that wee cannot without refreshyng, long abide to heare any one thyng. Thus we se, that to delight is nedefull, without the whiche, weightier matters will not be heard at all, and therefore hym cunne I thanke, that bothe can & will euer, myngle swete, emong the sower, be he Preacher, Lawyer, yea, or Cooke either hardely, when he dresseth a good dishe of meate: now I nede not tell that scurrilitie, or Alehouse testyng, would bee thought odious, or grosse mirthe would be deamed madnesse: considerying that euen the meane witted doe knowe that already, and as for other, that haue no witte, thei will neuer learne it, therefore God spede them. Now when these twoo are dooen, he muste perswade, and moue the affections of his hearers in suche wise, that thei shalbe forced to yelde vnto his saiyng, wherof (because the matter is large, and maie more aptly bee declared, when I shall speake of Amplificacion) I wil surceasle to speake anythyng therof at this tyme.

Preachers not so diligentely heard, as common plaiers.

Preachers must sometymes be merie, when thei speake to the people.

Delityng nedefull.

Scurrilitie odious.

Affeccions must be moued.

¶ By what meanes Eloquence is attained.

FIrste nedefull it is that he, whiche desireth to excell in this gift of Oratorie, and longeth to proue an eloquent man, must naturally haue a wit, and an aptnesse thereunto: then must he to his boke, & learne to be well stored with knowlege, that he maie be able to minister matter, for all causes necessarie. The which when he hath gotte pleutifully, he muste vse muche exercise, bothe in writyng, and also in speakyng. For though he haue

haue a wit and learnyng together, yet shal thei bothe litle auaile without much practise. What maketh the lawyer to haue suche vtteraunce? Practise. What maketh the Preacher to speake so roūdly? Practise. Yea, what maketh women go so fast awaie with their wordes? Marie practise I warraunt you. Therfore in all faculties, diligent practise, and earnest exercise, are the onely thynges, that make men proue excellent. Many men knowe the arte very well, and be in all poynctes throughly grounded, & acquainted with the preceptes, and yet it is not their hap to proue eloquent And the reason is, that eloquēce it self, came not vp first by the arte, but the arte rather was gathered vpon eloquēce. For wise menne seyng by muche obseruacion, and diligent practise, the compasse of diuerse causes, compiled thereupō preceptes and lessons, worthie to bee knowen and learned of all men. Therefore before arte was inuented, eloquence was vsed, and through practise made parfecte, the whiche in all thynges is a souereigne meane, most highly to excell.

Practise maketh all thynges perfect.

Rhetorique first made by wise men, and not wise men first made by Rhetorique.

Now before we vse either to write, or speake eloquently we must dedicate our myndes wholly, to folowe the moste wise and learned menne, and seke to fashion, aswell their speache and gesturyng, as their wit or enditying. The whiche when we earnestly mynde to do, we cannot but in time appere somewhat like theim. For if thei that walke muche in the sōne, and thinke not of it, are yet for the moste part sonne burnt, it cannot be but that thei, whiche wittyngly and willyngly trauaile to counterfecte other, muste nedes take some colour of theim, and be like vnto theim, in some one thyng or other, accordyng to the Prouerbe, by companyng with the wise, a man shall learne wisedome.

Imitacion or folowyng the waies of wise men, is nedefull.

¶ To what purpose this arte is set furthe.

TO this purpose and for this vse, is the arte compiled together, by the learned and wise men, that those whiche are ignorant, might iudge of the lerned, and labour (when tyme should require) to folow their workes accordyngly. Again, the art helpeth well to dispose and order matters of our awne inuencion, the whiche we may folowe, aswell in speakyng, as in writyng

Rhetorique, to what purpose it serueth.

Arte, surer guide, then nature.

for though many by nature without art, haue proued wor thie menne, yet is arte a surer guide, then nature, consider-ryng we se as liuely by the art, what we do, as though we red a thyng in writtyng, wheras natures doynges are not so open to all men. Again, those that haue good wittes, by nature, shall better encrease theim by arte, and the blunte also shalbe whetted through art, that want nature to help them forward.

¶ Fiue thynges to be considered in an Oratour.

A My one that will largely handle any matter, muste fasten his mynde, first of all vpon these fiue especial poynctes that folowe, and learne theim euery one.

Orators must haue fiue thinges to make them perfect.

i. Inuencion of matter.
ij. Disposicion of the same.
iij. Elocucion.
iiij. Memorie.
v. Vtteraunce.

Inuencion, what it is.

THe findyng out of apte matter, called otherwise Inuencion, is a searchyng out of thynges true, or thynges likely, the whiche maie reasonably sette furth a matter, and make it appere probable. The places of Logique, geue good occasion to finde out plentitifull matter. And therefore thei that will proue any cause and seke onely to teache thereby the truthe, muste searche out the places of Logique, and no doubte thei shall finde muche plentie. But what auaileth muche treasure and apt matter, if man cānot apply it to his purpose. Therefore in the seconde place is mencioned, the settelyng or orderyng of thynges inuented for this purpose, called in Latine, Dispositio, the whiche is nothyng els, but an apt bestowyng, and orderly placyng of thynges, declaryng where euery argument shalbe sette, and in what maner euery reason shalbe applied, for confirmacion of the purpose.

Disposicion, what it is.

But yet what helpeth it though we can finde good reasons, and knowe howe to place theim, if we haue not apte wordes, and picked sentences, to commēde the whole matter

ter. Therefore this poynct muſt nedes folowe, to beautifie the cauſe, the whiche beyng called Elocucion, is an applizyng of apte wordes and ſentēces to the matter, founde out to confirme the cauſe. When all theſe are had together, it auaileth litle, if manne haue no Memorie to contein theim. The Memorie therefore muſt be cheriſhed, the whiche is a faſt holdyng, bothe of matter and wordes couched togezther, to confirme any cauſe.

Elocucion, what it is.

Memorie, what it is.

Be it now that one haue all theſe .iiij. yet if he want the fift, all the other doo litle profite. For though a manne can finde out good matter, and good wordes, though he canne handſomely ſet them together, and cary them very well awaie in his mynde, yet it is to no purpoſe, if he haue no vtteraunce, when he ſhould ſpeake his minde, and ſhewe men what he hath to ſaie. Vtteraunce therefore is a frampng of the voyce, countenaūce, and geſture, after a comely maner.

Pronunciatiō what it is.

Thus we ſe that euery one of theſe muſt go together, to make a perfecte Oratoure, and that the lacke of one, is an hynderaunce of the whole, and that aſwell all maie be wāting, as one, if we loke to haue an abſolute Oratour.

¶ There are. vii. partes in euery Oracion.

Oracions in generall, conſiſt vpon ſeuen partes.

i. The enteraunce or beginnyng.
ii. The Narracion.
iii. The Propoſicion.
iiij. The diuiſiō or ſeuerall partyng of thynges
v. The Confirmacion.
vi. The Confutacion.
vii. The Concluſion.

Enteraunce, what it is.

THe Enteraunce or beginnyng, is the former part of the Oracion, whereby the will of the ſtanders by, or of the Judge is ſought for, and required to heare the matter.

Narration.

The Narraciō, is a plain and manifeſt poynctyng of the matter, and an euident ſettyng furthe of all thynges, that belong vnto theſame, with a briefe reherſall, grounded vpon ſome reaſon.

The

Propoſicion. The Propoſicion is a pithie ſentence, comprehendyng in a ſmale roume, the ſome of the whole matter.

Diuiſion. The diuiſion is an openyng of thynges, wherin we agree and reſt vpon, and wherein we sticke, and ſtande in trauerſe ſhewyng what we haue to ſaie, in our awne behalfe.

Confirmacion. The Confirmacion, is a declaracio of our awne reaſons with aſſured and conſtaunt proſes.

Confutacion. The Confutacion, is a diſſoluyng or wipyng awaie, of all ſuche reaſons as make againſt vs.

Concluſion. The Concluſion is a clarkely gatheryng of the matter, ſpoken before, and a lappyng vp of it altogether.

Now becauſe in euery one of theſe, greate hede ought to be had, and muche arte muſt be vſed, to content and like all parties: I purpoſe in the ſecond boke to ſet furthe at large euery one of theſe, that bothe we maie knowe in all partes, what to folowe, and what to eſchewe. And firſt when tyme ſhalbe to talke of any matter, I would aduiſe euery man, to conſider the nature of the cauſe ſelf, that the rather he might fraime his whole Oracion thereafter.

¶ Euery matter is conteined in one of theſe. iiii.

Matters i general, ſtand in iiii. poynctes.

EIther it is an honeſt thyng, whereof we ſpeake, or els it is filthy and vile, or els betwixte bothe, and doubtfull what to bee called, or els it is ſome trifelyng matter, that is of ſmall weight.

Matters i. honeſt. That is called an honeſt matter, when either wee take in hande ſuche a cauſe, that all menne would maintein, or els gainſaie ſuche a cauſe, that no man can well like.

Matters, ii. filthie. Then do we hold and defende a filthy matter, whē either wee ſpeake againſt our conſcience in an euill matter, or els withſtande an vpright truthe.

Matters, iii. doubtfull. The cauſe then is doubtfull, when the matter is half honeſt, and halfe vnhoneſt.

Matters, iiii. trifelyng. Suche are trifelyng cauſes, whē there is no weight in thē as if one ſhould phantaſy, to praiſe a Goſe, before any other beaſt liuyng (as I knowe who did) or of fruict to commende nuttes chefly, as Ouid did, or the feuer quartaine, as Phauorinus did, or the Gnatte, as Virgill did, or the battaill of Frogges as Homere did, or diſpraiſe beardes, or commende

ſhauen

shauen heddes.

¶ Good hede to bee taken at the firste, vpon the handelyng of any matter in Judgement.

YDT onely it is necessarie to knowe, what maner of cause wee haue taken in hande, when wee firste enter vpon any matter, but also it is wisedome to coulider the tyme, the place, the man for whom we speake, the man against whom we speake, the matter whereof we speake, and the iudges before whom we speake, the reasons that best serue to further our cause, and those reasons also, that maie seme somewhat to hynder our cause, and in no wise to vse any suche at all, or els warely to mitigate by protestacion, the euill that is in theim, and alwaies to vse whatsoeuer can bee saied, to wynne the chief hearers good willes, and perswade theim to our purpose. If the cause go by fauour, and that reason cannot so muche auaile, as good wil shalbe able to do: or els if mouyng affeccions can do more good, then bryngyng in of good reasons, it is meete alwaies to vse that waie, whereby we maie by good helpe, get the ouer hand. That if mine aduersaries reasons, by me beyng cõfuted, serue better to help forward my cause, then mine awn reasons confirmed, can be able to doe good: I should wholy bestowe my tyme, and trauaill to weaken and make slender, all that euer he bringeth with hym. But if I can with more ease, proue myne awne saiynges, either with witnesses, or with wordes, then be able to cõfute his with reason, I must labour to withdrawe mennes myndes, from myne aduersaries foundacion, and require thẽ wholy to herken vnto that whiche I haue to saie, beyng of it self so iust and so reasonable, that none can rightly speake against it, and shewe theim that greate pitie it were, for lacke of the onely hearyng, that a true matter, should want true dealyng. Ouer and besides all these, there remain twoo lessons, the whiche wisemenne haue alwaies obserued, and therefore ought of all men, assuredly to be learned. The one is, that if any matter be laied against vs, whiche by reason can hardely bee auoyded, or the whiche is so open, that none almoste can deny, it were wisedome in confutyng all the other reasons, to passe ouer this

Circũstaunces necessary in al causes to bee noted.

Fauoure wynnyng, and affeccions mouyng, when thei are moste necessarie.

Aduersaries reasons, when thei shuld best be confuted.

Argumentes whõ thei shuld chiefly be vsed

Matters, hard toauoide, shuld alwaies bee past ouer, as thoughwe saw them not at al

one, as though we sawe it not, and therefore speake neuer a worde of it. Or els if necessitie shall force a man to saie some what, he may make an outward bragge, as though there wer no matter in it, euer so speakyng of it, as though he would stande to the triall, makyng men to beleue, he would fight in the cause, whē better it were (if necessitie so required) to run clene awaie. And herein though a man do flie and geue place, euermore the gladder, the lesse raupng there is or stirryng in this matter: yet he flieth wisely, and for this ende, that beyng kensed otherwise, & strongly appoynted, he maie take his aduersary at the best aduauntage, or at the least, werie hym with muche lingeryng, and make hym with oft suche fliyng, to forsa'ze his chief defence.

Good to bee bolde in moste daungier, if otherwise wee cannot escape.

The other lesson is, that whereas we purpose alwaies to haue the victorie, wee should so speake, that we maie labour rather not to hynder, or hurt our cause, then to seke meanes to further it. And yet I speake not this, but that bothe these are right necessarie, and euery one that will doo good, muste ta'ze peines in theim bothe, but yet notwithstandyng, it is a fouler fau!te a greate deale, for an Orator to be founde hurting his awne cause, then it should turne to his rebuke, if he had not furthered his whole entent. Therefore not onely is it wisedome, to speake so muche as is nedefull, but also it is good reason, to leaue vnspoken so muche as is nedelesse, the whiche although the wisest can do, and nede no teachyng, yet these common wittes offende muche nowe and then, in this behalfe. Some man beyng stirred, shall hurt more our cause then twentie other. Tauntyng wordes before some menne, will not be borne at all. Sharpe rebukyng of our aduersary or frumpes geuen before some persones: cannot be sufferd at all. Yea, sometymes a man must not speake all that he knoweth, for if he doo, he is like to finde small fauour, although he haue iuste cause to speake, and maie with reason declare his mynde at large. And albeit that witlesse folke, can soner rebuke that, whiche is fondly spoken, then redely praise that whiche is wisely kept close, yet the necessitie of the matter, must rather be marked, then the fonde iudgement of the people esteemed. What a lore saiyng were this? When a lawyer

Better not to hurte a good matter by euil speach, then to further it by good talke.

warenesse in speakyng, and forbearyng to speake.

The person before whom we speake, must be well marked.

Tyme must be obserued.

should

shoulde take in hande a matter, concernyng life and death, and another shoulde aske how he hath sped, to heare tel that the lawyer, hath not onely cast awaie his cliēt, but vndoen hymselfe also, in speakyng thynges inconsiderately, as no doubt it oftē happeneth, that wise men, and those also that bee none euill men neither, maie vnwares speake thynges, which afterward thei sore repent, & would cal backe again with losse of a greate somme. Now what a folye it is, not to remember the tyme and the men. Or who will speake that whiche he knoweth will not be liked; if he purpose to finde fauour at their handes, before whom he speaketh, what mā of reason will praise that before the Judges, (before whom he knoweth the determinacion of his cause resteth) whiche the Judges selfe cannot abide to heare spoken at all? Or doeth not he muche hinder his awne matter, that without al curtesie or preface made, will largely speake euil of those men, whom the hearers of his cause, tenderly doo fauour? Or be it that there be some notable faulte in thyne aduersary, with whiche the Judges also are infected, were it not folye for thee, to charge thyne aduersary with the same. Cōsideryng the Judges thereby maie thynke, thou speakest against them also, and so thou maiest perhappes, lose their fauour in sekyng suche defence, made without all discrecion. And in framing reasons, to confirme the purpose, if any be spoken plainly false, or els contrary to that, which was spoken before, dooeth it not muche hynder a good matter? Therefore in all causes, this good hede ought to bee had, that alwaies we labour to do some good, in furtheryng of our cause, or if we cannot so do, at the least that we doo no harme at all.

¶ There are three kyndes of causes, or Oracions, whiche serue for euery matter

Nothyng can be handled by this arte, but the same is conteined, within one of these. iij. causes. Either the matter consisteth in praise, or dispraise of a thyng, or els in consultyng, whether the cause be profitable, or vnprofitable, or lastly, whether the matter be right, or wrong. And yet this one thyng is to be learned

Orations, or causes of three kyndes.

that in euery one of these foure causes, these three seuerall endes, maie euery of them be conteined, in any one of them. And therfore he that shall haue cause, to praise any one body, shall haue iuste cause to speake of iustice, to entreate of profite, and ioyntly to talke of one thyng with another. But because these three causes, are commonly and for the moste part, seuerally parted, I will speake of them, one after another, as thei are sette furthe by wise mennes iudgementes, & particularly declare their properties, all in order

Oracion demonstratiue.

The Oracion demonstratiue, standeth either in praise, or dispraise of some one man, or of some one thyng, or of some one deede doen.

¶ The kynde Demonstratiue, wherein chiefly it is occupied.

There are diuerse thynges, whiche are praised, and dispraised, as menne, Countreis, Citees, Places, Beastes, Hilles, Riuers, Houses, Castles, dedes doen by worthy menne, and pollicies inuented by greate warriers, but moste commonly men are praised, for diuerse respectes, before any of the other thynges are taken in hande.

Noble personages, howe thei should be praised.

Nowe in praisyng a noble personage, and in settyng furthe at large his worthinesse, Quintilian geueth warnyng, to vse this threfolded order.

To obserue thynges.
- Before his life.
- In his life.
- After his death.

Before a mannes life, are considered these places.

- The Realme.
- The Shire.
- The Toune.
- The Parentes.
- The Auncestours.

In a mannes life, praise muste be parted threfolde. That is to saie, into the giftes of good thynges of the mynde, the body, and of fortune. Now the giftes of the body, and of fortune, are not praise wor-

thy.

thy, of their awne nature: but euen as thei are vsed, either to, or fro, so thei are either praised, or dispraised. Giftes of the mynde, deserue the whole trumpe and sound commendacion aboue all other, wherein wee maie vse the reherſall of vertues, as thei are in order, and beginnyng at his infãcie, tell all his doynges, till his laſt age.

¶ The places whereof, are theſe.

- The birthe, and infancie.
- The childhode.
- The ſtripelyng age, or ſpryng tide
- The mãnes ſtate.
- The olde age.
- The tyme of his departure, or deth

Wherunto. are referred theſe.

- Whether the perſon be a man, or a womã
- The bryngyng vp, & nurturyng, and the behauour of his life.
- To what ſtudy he taketh hymſelf vnto, what company he vſeth, how he liueth.
- Proweſſes doen, either abrode, or at home.
- His pollicies & wittie deuiſes in behoue of the publique wele
- Thynges that haue happened aboute his death.

NOw to open al theſe places more largely, aſwell thoſe that are before a mannes life, as ſuche as are in his life, and after his death, that the reader maie further ſe the profite, I will do the beſt I cã

The houſe wherof a noble perſonage came, declares the ſtate and nature of his aunceſters, his alliaunce, and his kynſfolke. So that ſuche worthy feactes, as thei haue heretofore doen, and al ſuche honors as thei haue had, for ſuche their good ſeruice, redownde wholy to the encreaſe and

The houſe or aũceſtrie wher of a noble perſonage cometh.

amplifyng of his honour, that is now liuyng.

ii. The realme. The Realme, declares the nature of the people. So that some Countrey bringeth more honor with it, then another doth. To be a Frenche manne, descendyng there of a noble house, is more honor then to be an Irishe manne: to bee an Englishe manne borne, is muche more honour, then to be a Scotte, because that by these men, worthy prowesses haue been dooen, and greater affaires by theim attempted, then haue been doen by any other.

iii. The Shire or Toune. The Shire or Toune helpeth somewhat, towardes the encrease of honour: As it is muche better, to bee borne in Paris, then in Picardie, in Lõdon, then in Lincolne. For that bothe the aire is better, the people more ciuill, and the wealth muche greater, and the menne for the moste parte more wise.

iiii. The sexe or kynde. To bee borne a manchilde, declares a courage, grauitie, and constancie. To be borne a woman, declares weakenes of spirite, neshenes of body, and fikilnesse of mynde.

v. Education. Now for the bringing vp of a noble personage, his nurse must be considered, his plaie felowes obserued, his teacher and other his seruauntes, called in remembraunce. Howe euery one of these lined then, with whom thei haue lined afterwardes, and how thei liue now.

vi. Inclinacio of nature. By knowyng what he taketh hymself vnto, and wherin he moste deliteth, I maie commende hym for his learnyng, for his skill in the Frenche, or in the Italian, for his knowlege in Cosmographie: for his skill in the lawes, in the histories of all countreis, and for his gift of enditing. Again, I maie cõmende hym for plaiyng at weapons, for runnyng vpon a greate horse, for chargyng his staffe at the Tilte, for vaultyng, for plaiyng vpon instrumentes, yea, and for paintyng, or drawyng of a platte, as in old tyme noble princes, muche delited therein.

vii Attemptes worthy. Prowesse doen, declare his seruice to the Kyng, and his countrey, either in withstandyng the outwarde enemie, or els in aswagyng the rage of his awne coũtreyme at home.

viii. His wise counsaill, and good aduise geuen, settes furthe the goodnesse of his witte.

At

At the tyme of his departyng, his sufferaunce of all sicknesse, may muche commende his worthinesse. As his strong harte, and cherefull pacience euen to the ende, cannot wãt greate praise. The loue of all men towardes hym, and the lamentyng generally for his lacke, helpe well moste highly to set furthe his honour. Tyme of departing this worlde.

After a mannes death, are considered his toombe, his cote armour set vp, and all suche honours, as are vsed in funeralles. If any one liste to put these preceptes in practise, he maie doo, as hym liketh best. And surely I do thynke, that nothyng so muche furthereth knowlege, as daiely exercise, and enuryng our selfes to do that in dede, whiche we know in woorde. And because examples geue greate lighte, after these preceptes are set furthe, I will commende two noble gentlemen, Henry Duke of Suffolk, and his brother lorde Charles Duke with hym. After departure. Duke of Suffolke, and lord Charles.

¶ An example of commendyng a noble personage.

BEtter or more wisely can none do, then thei which neuer bestowe praise, but vpon those that best deserue praise, rather myndyng discretly, what thei ought to dooe, then vainly deuisyng what thei best can doo, seekyng rather to praise menne, suche as are founde worthy, then curiously findyng meanes to praise matters, suche as neuer wer in any. For thei which speake otherwise then truthe is, mynd not the commendacion of the persone, but the settyng furthe of their awne learnyng. As Gorgias in Plato, praisyng vnrighteousnes, Heliogabalus Oratours, commendyng whoredome, Phauorinus the Philosophier, extollyng the feuer Quartaine, thought not to speake as the cause required, but would so muche saie as their wit would geue, not weighyng the state of the cause, but myndyng the want of their brain, lookyng how muche could be said, not passyng how litle should be saied. But I bothe knowyng the might of Gods hand, for suche as loue fables, and the shame that in yearth redoundeth to euil reporters, will not commende that or those, whiche neede no good praise, but will commende them, that no man iustly can dispraise, nor yet any one is well able worthely to Gorgias. Heliogabalus Phauorinus.

praise.

praise. Their towardnes was suche, & their giftes so great, that I know none whiche loue learnyng, but hath sorowed the lacke of their beeyng, and I knowe that the onely namyng of theim, will stirre honest hartes, to speake well of them. I will speake of twoo brethren, that lately departed, the one Henry Duke of Suffolke, and the other Lorde Charles his brother, whom God thinkyng meter for heauen, then to liue here vpon yearth, toke from vs in his anger, for the betteryng of our doynges, and amendement of our euill liuyng. These twoo gentlemen were borne in noble England, bothe by father and mother, of an high parentage. The father called Duke Charles, by mariage beyng brother, to the worthy kyng of famous memorie, Hēry theight, was in suche fauour, and did suche seruice, that all Englande at this houre, doeth finde his lacke, and Fraunce yet doth fele, that suche a duke there was, whom in his life tyme, the godly, loued: the euil, feared: the wise men, honored for his wit, and the simple, vsed alwaies for their counsaill. Their mother, of birthe noble, and witte great, of nature gētle, and mercifull to the poore, and to the godly, and especially to the learned, an earnest good patronesse, and moste helpyng Lady aboue all other. In their youthe their father died, the eldest of thē beyng not past .ix. yeres of age. After whose death, their mother knowyng, that welth without wit, is like a sworde in a naked mannes hand, & assuredly certain, that knowlege would confirme iudgemēt, prouided so for their bringyng vp, in al vertue and learnyng, that if like were not to be had, within this realme again. When thei begā bothe, to ware somewhat in yeres, beyng in their pūnetide, & spryng of their age, the elder waityng of the kynges maiestie that now is, was generally well estemed, and suche hope was conceiued of his towardnes, both for learnyng, and al other thinges, that fewe wer like vnto hym in al the courte. The other keppyng his boke, emong the Cambrige men, profited (as thei all well knowe) bothe in vertue and learnyng, to their greate admiracion. For the Greke, the Latine, and the Italian, I knowe he could dooe more, then would be thought true by my report. I leaue to speke

Henry duke of Suffolke, and lorde Charles his brother.

of

of his skill in pleasaunt instrumentes, neither will I vt-
ter his aptnes in Musike, & his toward nature, to all exer-
cises of the body. But his elder brother in this tyme (besi-
des his other giftes of the mynde, whiche passed all other,
and were almoste incredible) folowyng his fathers nature
was so delited with ridyng, and runnyng in armour vpon
horsebacke, and was so comely for that feacte, and could do
so well in chargyng his staffe, beyng but .xiiij. yeres of age,
that menne of warre, euen at this houre, mone muche the
want of suche a worthy gentleman. Yea, the Frenche men
that first wondered at his learnyng, when he was there e-
mong theim, and made a notable Oracion in Latine: were
muche more astonied whē thei saw his comely ridyng, and
litle thought to finde these twoo ornamentes, ioyned bothe
in one, his yeres especially beyng so tender, and his practise
of so small tyme. Afterward commyng from the courte, as
one that was desierous to be emong the learned, he laie in
Cambrige together with his brother, where thei bothe so
profited, and so gently vsed themselfes, that all Cambrige
did reuerence, bothe hym and his brother, as two iewelles
sent frō God. The elders nature was suche, that he thought
hymself best, when he was emong the wisest, and yet con-
tempned none, but thankefully vsed all, gentle in behauor
without childishenes, stoute of stomacke without al pride,
bold with all warenesse, and frendly with good aduisemēt.
The yonger beeyng not so ripe in yeres, was not so graue
in looke, rather chereful, then sad: rather quicke, then aun-
cient: but yet if his brother were sette a side, not one that
went beyonde hym. A childe that by his awne inclination,
so muche yelded to his ruler, as fewe by chastement haue
doen the like, pleasaunt of speeche, prompte of witte, stir-
ryng by nature, hault without hate, kynde without crafte,
liberall of harte, gentle in behauiour, forward in all thyn-
ges, gredy of learnyng, and lothe to take a foyle, in any
open assembly. Thei bothe in al attempptes, sought to haue
the victory, and in exercise of witte, not onely the one with
the other, did ofte stande in contencion, but also thei bothe
would matche with the best, and thought themselfes moste

happie, when thei might haue any iuſt occaſion, to put their wittes in triall. And now when this grene fruicte began to ware ripe, and all menne longed to haue taſt, of ſuche their greate forwardneſſe: God preuentyng mannes expectacion, toke theim bothe aboute one houre, and in ſo ſhorte tyme, that firſt thei wer knowen to be dedde, or any abrode could tell thei wer ſicke. I neede not to reherſe, what bothe thei ſpake, before their departure (cõſideryng, I haue ſeuerally written, bothe in Latine and in Engliſhe, of theſame matter) neither will I heape here ſo muche together as I can, becauſe I ſhould rather renewe greate ſorowe to many, then do moſte men any great good, who loued them ſo well generally, that fewe for a greate ſpace after, ſpake of theſe twoo gentle menne, but thei ſhewed teares, with the onely vtteraunce of their wordes, and ſome through ouer muche ſorowyng, wer fain to forbeare ſpeakyng. God graũt vs al ſo to liue, that the good men of this world, may be alwaies lothe to forſake vs, and God maie ſtill be glad to haue vs, as no doubt theſe twoo children ſo died, as all men ſhould wiſhe to liue, and ſo thei liued bothe, as al ſhould wiſhe to die. Seyng therfore theſe two wer ſuche, bothe for birthe, nature, and all other giftes of grace, that the like are hardely founde behynde theim: let vs ſo ſpeake of theim, that our good report maie warne vs, to folowe their godly natures, and that laſtly, wee maie enioye that enheritaunce, whereunto God hath prepared thẽ and vs (that feare him) from the beginnyng. Amen.

The partes of an Oracion, made in praiſe of a manne.
- The Enteraunce.
- The Narracion.
- Sometymes the confutacion.
- The Concluſion.

IF any one ſhall haue iuſt cauſe, to diſpraiſe an euill man, he ſhall ſone do it, if he can praiſe a good man. For (as Ariſtotle doeth ſaie) of contraries, there is one and theſame doctrine, and therefore he that can do the one, ſhall ſone be able to do the other.

An

¶Of an Oracion demonstratiue, for some deede doen.

The kynd demonstratiue of some thyng doen is this, when a man is commended or dispraised, for any acte committed in his life. Oracion Demonstratiue of a deede.

¶The places to confirme this cause, when any one is commended, are sixe in nomber.

The places of Confirmacion.
- i. It is honest.
- ii. It is possible.
- iii. Easie to be doen,
- iiii. hard to be doen.
- v. Possible to be doen,
- vi. Impossible to be doen.

Seuen circumstaunces, whiche are to bee considered in diuerse matters.

The circumstaunces.
- i. Who did the deede.
- ii. What was doen.
- iii. Where it was doen.
- iiii. What helpe had he to it.
- v. Wherefore he did it.
- vi. How he did it.
- vii. At what tyme he did it.

¶The circumstaunces in meter.

Who, what, and where, by what helpe, and by whose:
Why, how, and when, do many thynges disclose.

These places helpe wonderfully, to set out any matter, and to amplifie it to the vttermoste, not onely in praisyng, or dispraisyng, but also in all other causes where any aduisement is to bee vsed. Yet this one thyng is to bee learned, that it shall not bee necessarie, to vse theim altogether, euen as thei stande in order: but rather as tyme and place shall best require, thei maie bee vsed in any parte of the Oracion, euen as it shall please hym that hath the vsyng of them.

Again, if any manne bee disposed, to rebuke any offence, he maie vse the places contrary vnto theim that are aboue rehersed, and apply these circumstaunces euen as thei are, to

the proke of his purpose.

¶ An example of commendyng kyng Dauid, for killyng greate Goliah, gathered and made by obseruacion of circumstaunces.

Dauid cõmended for killing Goliah.

GOD beyng the author of mankynde, powryng into hym the breath of life, and framyng hym of claie in suche a comely wise, as we al now se, hath from the beginnyng, bren so carefull ouer his electe and chosen, that in al daungers, he is euer redy to assist his people, keppyng theim harmeleſſe, when thei were often paste all mannes hope. And emong all other his fatherly goodneſſe, it pleased hym to shewe his power, in his chosen seruaũt Dauid, that all mighte learne to knowe his mighte, and reken with themselfes, that though man geue the stroke, yet God it is that gueth the ouerhande. For wheras Dauid was of small stature, weake of body, poore of birthe, and base in the sight of the worldlynges, God called hym firste to matche with an houge monster, a litle body, against a mightie Gyaunt, an abiecte Israelite, against a moste valiaunt Philistine, with whom no Israelite durst encounter. These Philistines mynded the murder and ouerthrowe, of all the Israelites, trustyng in their awne strength so muche, that thei feared no perill, but made an accompte, that all was theirs before hande. Now when bothe these armies were in sight, the Philistines vpon an hill of the one side, and the Israelites vpon an hill, of the other side, a vale beyng betwirte theim bothe, there marched out of the Campe, a base borne Philistine, called Goliah of Geth, a manne of sixe cubites high. This souldiour, when through the bignes and stature of his body, and also with greate braggs, & terrible threatenynges, he had wonderfully abashed the whole armie of the Israelites, so that no man durst aduenture vpon hym, God to the ende he mighte deliuer Israell, and shewe that mannes helpe, with all his armour, litle auaile to get victory, without his especiall grace: and again, to the ende he might set vp Dauid, and make hym honourable emong the Israelites, did then call out Dauid, the sonne of Ephrateus, of Bethleem Juda, whose name was Isai, who beeyng

who Dauid against Goliah.

dull

but a child in yeres, did kill out of hande, by Goddes might and power, Goliah the moste terrible enemie of all other, that bare hate against the children of Israell. When this mightie felowe was slain, aboute the vale of Terebinthus, betwixt both tharmies, the Israelites reioysed, that before quaked, and wondered at hym then, whom thei would scant knowe before, & no doubt this dede was not onely wonderfull, but also right godly. For in battaill to kill an enemie, is thoughte right worthy, or to aduenture vpon a rebell, (though the successe folowe not) is generally commended: yea, to put one to the worse, or to make hym flie the groũd, is called manly, but what shall we saie of Dauid, that not onely had the better hande, not onely bette his enemie, but killed streight his enemie, yea, and not an enemy, of the cõmon stature of men, but a mightie Gyaunt, not a man, but a monster, yea, a deuill in hart, and a beast in body? Can any be compted more honest, then suche as seke to saue their coũtrey, by hasardyng their carcasses, and shedyng of their bloude? Can loue shewe it self greater, then by yeldyng of life, for the health of an armie? It had been muche, if half a dosen had dispatched, suche a terrible Gyaunte, but now, when Dauid without helpe, beyng not yet a manne, but a boye in yeres, slewe hym hande to hande, what iuste praise dooeth he deserue? If we praise other, that haue slain cuill men, and compte them haulte, that haue killed their matches, what shall we saie of Dauid, that beyng wonderfully ouermatched, made his partie good, and gotte the gole of a monster? Lette other praise Hercules, that thinke best of hym: let Cesar, Alexander, and Hanniball, bee bruted for warriers: Dauid in my iudgement, bothe did more manly, then all the other wer able, & serued his countrey in greater daunger, then euer any one of theim did. And shall wee not call suche a noble capitain, a good man of warre? Deserueth not his manhode and stoute attempte, wonderfull praise? If vertue could speake, would she not sone confesse that Dauid had her in full possession? And therfore if well doynges, by right maie chalenge worthy brute, Dauid will be knowen, and neuer can want due praise, for suche an ho-

what? Dauid killed Goliah.

where? About the vale of Terebithus

Dauids enterprise, honest and godly.

By what help and by whose? Alone, & without the help of any manne liuyng.

Dauids enterprise, praise worthy.

why? For the sauegarde of his countrey.

nest deede. And what man wil not saie, but that Dauid did mynde nothyng els herein, but the saufegarde of his countrey, thinkyng it better for himself to die, and his countrey to liue, then hymself to liue, and his countrey to die. What gain got Dauid, by the death of Goliah, or what could he hope, by the death of suche a mōster, but onely that the loue whiche he bare to the Israelites, forced hym to halard his awne life: Thinkyng that if the Philistines should preuail the Israelites wer like to perishe, euery mothers sonne of theim? Therefore he hasardyng this attempte, considered with hymself, the saufegard of the Israelites, the maintenaunce of iustice, his duetie towardes God, his obedience to his prince, and his loue to his countrey. And no doubte, God made this enterprise appere full easie, before Dauid could haue the harte, to matche hymself with suche a one. For though his harte might quake, beeyng voyde of Gods helpe, yet assuredly he wanted no stomacke, when God did set hym on. Let tirauntes rage, let hell stand open, let Sathan shewe his mighte, if God bee with vs, who can bee against vs? Though this Goliah appered so strong, that .x. Dauides were not able, to stande in his hande: yet .x. Goliaths were all ouer weake for Dauid alone. Man cannot iudge, neither can reason comprehende, the mightie power of God. When Pharao with all his armie, thoughte fully to destroye the children of Israell, in the redde sea, did not God preserue Moses, and destroye Pharao? What is man and all his power that he can make, in the handes of God, vnto whō all creatures, bothe in heauen and in yearth, are subiecte at his commaundement? Therefore it was no maistery for Dauid, beyng assisted with God, aswel to matche with the whole armye, as to ouerthrowe this one man. But what did the Israelites, when thei sawe Dauid take vpon hym, suche a bolde enterprise? Some saied he was rashe, other mocked hym to scorne, & his brethren called hym foole. For thought thei, what a madde felowe is he, beeyng but a lad in yeres, to matche with suche a monster in body? How can it be possible otherwise, but that he shalbe torne in peces, euen at his firste commyng? For if the Philistine maie

Dauides enterprise, appered easy to himself

Dauides enterprise, perilous to hymself and his countrey.

Dauides enterprise, accompted of his frēdes, harde and unpossible.

ones

ones hit hym, he is goen though he had tenne mennes lifes. Now what should he meane, so vnegally to matche himself except he were, wery of his life, or els were not well in his wittes? Yea, and to geue his enemies, all the aduauntage that could bee, he came vnarmed, and whereas the Philistins, had very strōg armour, bothe to defende hymself, and a strong weapon to fight withall, Dauid came with a slyng onely, as though he would kill crowes, whereat, not onely the Philistine laughed, & disdained his folie, but also bothe the armies thought he was but a dedde man, before he gaue one stroke. And in deede, by all reason and deuise of manne there was none other waie, but deathe with hym, out of hande. Dauid notwithstandyng, beeyng kyndeled in harte with Gods might, was strong enough for him, in his awne opinion, and forced nothyng, though all other were muche against hym. And therefore made no more a doode, but beyng redy to reuenge in Goddes name, suche greate blasphemie, as the Philistine then did vtter, marched towardes his enemie, and with castyng a stone out of a slyng, he ouerthrewe the Philistine at the first. The whiche when he had dooen, out with his swordde, and chopt of his hedde, caryng it with his armoure, to the Campe of the Israelites: whereat the Philistines wer greatly astonied, and the Israelites much praised God, that had geuen suche grace, to suche a one, to compasse suche a deede. And the rather this manly acte, is highly to be praised, because he subdued this houge enemie, when Saul firste reigned kyng ouer Israell, and was sore assaied with the greate armie of the Philistines. Lette vs therefore that be now liuyng, when this acte or suche like, come into our myndes: remember what God is, of how infinite power he is, and let vs praise God in them, by whom he hath wrought suche wonders, to the strengthenyng of our faithe, and constaunt keppyng of our profession, made to hym, by euery one of vs, in our Baptisme.

How: with a slyng.

Examinyng of the circumstaunces

1. Who did the deede?

Dauid beeyng an Israelite, did this deede, beeyng the sonne of Isai, of the Tribe of Juda, a boye in yeres,

This

This circumstaunce was vsed, not onely in the narracion, but also when I spake of the honestie and godlinesse, whiche Dauid vsed, when he slewe Goliah.

iij. What was doen?

He slewe Goliah, the strongest Giaunt emong the Philistines. This circumstaunce I vsed also, when I spake of the honestie, in killyng Goliah.

iiij. Where was it doen?

Aboute the vale of Terebinthus.

iiij. What helpe had he to it?

He had no help of any man, but went himself alone. And wheras Saul offred him harnes, he cast it away, & trusting onely in God, toke him to his slinge, with .iiij. or .v. smal stones in his hand, the whiche wer thought nothyng in mānes sight, able either to do litle good, or els nothing at al. This circumstaunce I vsed, when I spake of the easenesse & possibilite, that was in Dauid, to kill Goliah, by Goddes help.

v. Wherefore did he it?

He aduentured his life, for the loue of his countrey, for the maintenaunce of iustice, for thaduauncement of Gods true glory, and for the quietnesse of all Israell, neither seekyng fame, nor yet lokyng for any gain. I vsed this circumstaunce, when I shewed what profite he sought, in aduenturyng this deede.

vi. How did he it?

Marie he put a stone in his slyng, and when he had cast it at the Philistine, Goliah fel doune straight. I vsed this circumstaunce, when I spake of the impossibilitie of the thing.

vij. What tyme did he it?

This deede was doen, when Saul reigned, first kyng ouer the Israelites, at what tyme the Philistines, came against the Israelites. Thus by the circumstaunces of thynges, a right worthy cause, maie be plentifully enlarged.

Of the Oracion demonstratiue, where thynges are sette furthe, and matters commended.

The kynde demōstratiue of thynges, is a meane wherby we do praise, or dispraise thynges, as vertue, vice, tounes, citees, castles, woodes, waters, hilles, and mountaines.

The

¶ Places to confirme thynges are.iiii.

Places of confirmacion.
- i. Thynges honest.
- ij. Profitable.
- iij. Easie to be doen.
- iiij Hard to be doen.

IF any learned, will haue recourse to the places of Logique in stede of these. iiij. places, when they take in hand to commende any suche matter. The whiche places if they make them serue rather to commende the matter, then onely to teache men the truth of it, it were wel done & Oratourlike. for seyng a man wholly bestoweth his wit to plaie the Orator, he shoulde chefely seke to cõpasse that whiche he entẽdeth, & not do that onely which he but half mynded. for by plaine teachyng, the Logician shewes hymselfe, by large amplification and beautifyng of his cause, the Rhetorician is alwaies knowne.

¶ The places of Logique are these.

- Definition.
- Causes.
- Partes.
- Effectes.
- Thynges adioynyng.
- Contraries.

I Do not se otherwise but that these places of Logique are confounded with thother. iiiij. of confirmacion, or rather I thinke these of Logique must first be mynded ere thother can well be had. For what is he that can cal a thyng honest & by reason proue it, except he first knowe what the thyng is, the whiche he can not better doe, then by definyng the nature of the thyng. Againe how shal I know whether myne attempte be easie, or hard, if I know not the efficient cause, or be assured how it maie be doen. In affirmyng it to be possible, I shall not better knowe it, then by searchyng thende, and learnyng by Logique what is the final cause of euery thyng.

Logique must be learned for confirmacion of causes.

The Title

¶ An example in commendacion of Justice, or true dealyng.

Justice commended.

SO many as loke to liue in peaceable quietnesse, beyng mynded rather to folowe reason, than to be led by wilfull affection: desire iustice in al thynges without the which no countrie is able long to cõtinue. Then may I be bolde to commende that, whiche all men wilshe & fewe can haue, whiche all men loue, & none can want: not doubtyng but as I am occupied in a good thyng, so al good men wil heare me with a good wil. But woulde God I were so wel able to perswade all men to Justice, as al men know the necessarie vse therof: and then vndoubtedly I woulde be muche boulder, and force some by violence, whiche by faire wordes can not be entreated. And yet what nedes any perswasion for that thyng, whiche by nature is so nedeful, & by experience so profitable, that looke what we want, without iustice we get not, loke what we haue, without iustice we kepe not. God graũt his grace so to worke in the hartes of al men, that they may alwel practise well doyng in their owne lyfe, as they would that other should folowe iustice in their lyfe: I for my part wil bestow some labor to set forth the goodnes of vpright dealing that al other men the rather may do therafter. That if through my wordes, God shal worke with any man, than may I thynke my selfe in happy case, & reioyce much in the trauaile of my wit. And how can it be otherwyse, but that al men shalbe forced inwardly to allowe that, whiche in outwarde acte many do not folowe: seyng God poured first this law of nature into mans hart, & graũted it as a meane wherby we might know his wil, & (as I might saie) talke with him, groundyng stil his doinges vpõ this poinct, that mã should do as he would be done vnto, the whiche is nothyng elles, but to lyue vprightly, without any wil to hurte his neighbour. And therfore hauyng this light of Goddes wil opened vnto vs thorowe his mere goodnesse, we ought euermore to referre al our actions vnto this ende, both in geuyng iudgement, and deuisyng lawes necessarie for mans lyfe. And here vpon it is that when men desire the lawe for trial of a matter, they

Justice naturally in euery one of vs.

meane

meane nothyng elles but to haue iustice, the whiche iustice is a vertue that yeldeth to euery man, his owne: to the euer liuyng God, loue aboue al thynges: to the Kyng, obedience: to the inferiour, good counsel: to the poore mā, mercie: to the hateful and wicked, sufferaunce: to it selfe, truthe: and to al men, perfite peace, and charitie. Now what can be more said in praise of this vertue, or what thyng can be like praised? Are not al thynges in good case, when al men haue their owne? And what other thyng doeth iustice, but seketh meanes to contente al parties? Then how greatly are they to be praised, that meane truely in al their doynges, and not onely, do no harme to any, but seke meanes to helpe al. The sunne is not so wonderful to the world (saith Aristotel) as the iust dealyng of a gouernour is meruelous to al mē. No the yerth yeldeth not more gaine to al creatures, than doth the iustice of a Magistrate to his whole Realme. For, by a lawe, we liue, and take the fruites of the yearth, but where no law is, nor iustice vsed: there, nothyng cā be had, though al thynges be at hande: For, in hauyng the thyng, we shall lacke the vse, and liuyng in great plentie, we shal stande in great nede. The meane therfore that maketh men to enioye their owne, is iustice, the whiche beyng ones taken away, all other thynges are lost with it, neither can any one saue that he hath, nor yet get that he wanteth. Therfore if wrōg doyng shoulde be borne withal, and not rather punished by death, what man coulde lyue in reste? Who coulde be suer either of his lyfe, or of his liuyng one whole day together? Now because euery man desireth the preseruation of hym selfe, euery man should in lyke case desire the sauegarde of his neighbour. For if I shoulde wholly mynde myne owne case, and folowe gaine without respect to the hinderaunce of myne euen Christian: why should not other vse theselfame libertie, and so euery man for hymselfe, and the deuil for vs al, catche that catche may? The whiche custome if all men folowed, the earth woulde soone be voide for want of men, one woulde be so gredie to eate vp an other. For in seking to lyue, we shoulde lose our lyues, & in gapyng after goodes, we shoulde soone go naked. Therefore to represse this

Iustice what it is, and howe largely it extendeth.

Aristotel.

Wrong deslyng deserueth death.

rage, and with holsome deuises to traine men in an order, God hath lightened man with knowledge, that in al thynges he may se what is right, and what is wrong, and vpon good aduisement deale iustly with al men. God hath created al thynges for mans vse, and ordeined man for mannes sake, that one man might helpe another. For thoughe some one haue giftes more plentifully then the cõmune sorte, yet no man can liue alone without helpe of other. Therfore we shoulde striue one to helpe another by iuste dealyng, some this way, & some that way, as euery one shal haue nede, and as we shalbe alwaies best able, wherein the lawe of nature is fulfilled, and Goddes commaundemẽt folowed. We loue them here in yearth that geue vs faire wordes, and we can be content to speake wel of them, that speake wel of vs: and shall we not loue them, and take them also for honest men, whiche are contented from tyme to time to yelde euery mã his owne, and rather woulde dye then consent to euill doyng? If one be gentle in outwarde behauiour, we lyke hym wel, and shal we not esteme hym that is vpright in his outward liuyng? and like as we desire that other should be to vs, ought not we to bee likewyse affected towardes them? Euen emong brute beastes nature hath appointed a law, & shal we men lyue without a lawe? The Storke beyng not able to feede her selfe for age, is fedde of her youngones, wherin is declared a natural loue, and shal we so lyue, that one shal not loue another? Man shoulde be vnto man as a God, & shal man be vnto man as a Deuil? Hath God created vs, and made vs to his owne likenesse, endewyng vs with al the riches of the yearth, that we might be obedient to his wil, and shal we neither loue him, nor like his? How can we say that we loue God, if there be no charitie in vs? Do I loue hym, whose mynde I wil not folowe, although it be right honest? If you loue me (saith Christe) folow my commaundementes. Christes will is suche that we shoulde loue God aboue al thinges, and our neighbour as our self. Then if we do not iustice (wherin loue doeth consist) we do neither loue man, nor yet loue God. The wyse man saith: The begynnyng of a good lyfe, is to do iustice. Yea, the blessyng

Iustice necessarie for almõ.

From the lesse to the greater.

Young Storkes.

Vnnaturalnes in man towardes God.

Iohn. xiiii. Matth. xix. Marc. x.

Prouer. xxi.

lyng of the Lorde is vpon the heade of the iuste. Heauen is theirs (saith Dauid) that do iustly frō tyme to tyme. What els then shal we do that haue any hope of the general resurrection, but do the will of God, and lyue iustly all the dayes of our life? Let euery man, but consider with hymselfe what ease he shal finde therby, & I doubt not but euery one depely waiyng the same, wil in hart confesse that iustice maketh plentie, and that not one man coulde long hold his owne, if lawes were not made to restraine mans will. We trauaile now, Wynter & Sommer, we watche, and take thought for maintenaunce of wife & children, alluredly purpolyng (that though God shal take vs immediatly) to leaue honestly for our familie. Now to what ende were all our gatheryng together, if iust dealyng were set a side, if lawes bare no rule, if what the wicked list, that they may, and what they may, that they can, & what they can, that they dare, & what they dare, the same they do, & whatsoeuer they do, no man of power is agreued therwith? What maketh wicked mē (which els woulde not) acknowlege the Kyng as their souereigne lorde, but the power of a lawe, & the practise of iustice for euil doers? Could a Prynce maintcine his state royal, if law and right had not prouided that euery man shoulde haue his owne? Would seruauntes obey their masters, the sonne his father, the tenaunt his landlorde, the citezen his maiour, or Shirife: if orders were not set & iust dealyng appointed for al states of men? Therfore the true meanyng folke in all ages geue thē selues some to this occupacion, & some to that, seking therin nothing els, but to maintcine a poore life, and to kepe them selues true men both to God and the worlde. What maketh men to performe their bargaines, to stand to their promises, & yelde their debtes, but an order of a lawe grounded vpō iustice? Where right beareth rule, there craft is coumpted vice. The lyar is muche hated, where truth is wel estemed. The wicked theues are hāged, where good men are regarded. None can holde vp their heades, or dare showe their faces in a well ruled commune weale, that are not thought honest, or at the least haue some honest way to lyue. The Egiptians therfore hauyng a worthy and a wel gouer-

Prouer. viii.
Prouer. xxii.

Prokite of iustice.

Sauegarde had by iustice.

Gradation.

The necessitie of iustice.

Where iustice is executed, vice is exiled.

¶ Aegiptians what order they vsed to banishe ydelnesse.

ned publike weale, prouided that none shoulde lyue idlye, but that euery one monethly should geue an accompte how he spente his tyme, and had his name registrede in a Booke for the same purpose. But Lorde, if this lawe were vsed in England, how many would come behynde hande with their reckenynges at the audite daie. I feare me there doynges woulde be suche, that it would be long ere they gotte there quietus est. Therfore the worse is our state, the lesse that this euil is loked vnto. And suerly, if in other thynges we shoulde be as negligent, this Realme could not long stand. But thankes be to God, we hang theim a pace that offende a lawe, and therfore we put it to their choise, whether they wil be idle and so fal to stealyng, or no: they knowe their reward, go to it, when they will. But if therewithall some good order were taken for education of youthe, and settyng loiterers on worke (as thankes be to God the Citie is most Godly bent that way) all would soone be well without all doubt. The wyse and discrete persons in al ages sought all meanes possible to haue an order in all thynges, & loued by iustice to directe al their doynges, wherby appereth both an apt wil in suche men, & a natural stirryng by Godes power to make al men good. Therfore, if we doe not well, we must blame our selues, that lacke a wil, and do not cal to God for grace. For though it appere hard to do wel, because no man can get perfection without continaunce: yet assuredly to an humble mynde that calleth to God, and to a willyng harte that faine would do his best, nothing can be hard. God hath set al thinges to sale for labour, and kepeth open shop, come who will. Therefore in all ages whereas we see the fewest good, we must wel thinke, the most did lacke good wil to aske, or seke for the same. Lorde, what loue had that worthie Prince Seleucus to maintein iustice, & to haue good lawes kepte, of whome suche a wonderfull thyng is written. For whereas he established moste holsome lawes for sauegarde of the Locrensiãs, and his owne sonne thereupon taken in adultrie, should lose bothe his yes according to the lawe then made, and yet notwithstandyng, the whole Citie thought to remitte the necessitie of his punishement for the

Iustice easy to be obserued, if wil be not wãtyng.

honour

honour of his father, Seleucus woulde none of that in any wyse. Yet at last through importunitie beyng ouercome, he caused first one of his owne yes to be pluckte out, & next after, one of his sonnes yes, leauyng onely the vse of sight to hymselfe & his sonne. Thus through equitie of the lawe, he vsed the dew meane of chastisement, showyng hymselfe by a wonderful temperature both a merciful father, & a iust lawe maker. Nowe happy are thei ỹ thus obserue a law, thinking losse of body, lesse hurt to the man, then sparyng of punishemēt, mete for the soule. For God wil not faile thē, that haue suche a desire to folowe his wil, but for his promise sake, he wil rewarde them for euer. And now, seeyng that iustice naturally is geuē to al men without the whiche we could not liue, beyng warned also by God alwaies to doe vprightly, perceauyng againe the commodities that redounde vnto vs by liuyng vnder a lawe, & the sauegard wherin we stand hauyng iustice to assiste vs: I trust that not onely all men wil cōmende iustice in worde, but also wil liue iustly in dede, the which that we may do, God graunt vs of his grace, Amen. Valer. lib. vi.

¶ An Oration deliberatiue.

AN Oration deliberatiue, is a meane, wherby we do perswade, or disswade, entreate, or rebuke, exhorte, or dehorte, commende, or cōforte any man. In this kynd of Oration we doe not purpose wholly to praise any body, nor yet to determine any matter in cōtrouersie, but the whole compasse of this cause is, either to aduise our neighbour to that thyng, whiche we thynke most nedeful for hym or els to cal him backe frō that folie, which hindereth muche his estimacion. As for exāple, if I would counsell my frende to trauaile beyond the Seas for knowlege of the tongues, & experience in forein countries: I might resorte to this kinde of Oration, & finde matter to cōfirme my cause plentifully. And the reasons which are commonly vsed to enlarge suche matters, are these that folowe. Oration deliberatiue.

{The thyng is honest. / Profitable. / Pleasaunt.} {Sauke. / Easie. / Harde.}

Lawful

Lawful and meete.
Praise worthie.
Necessarie.

Honestie comprehendeth al vertues.

NOw in speakyng of honestie, I may by deuision of the vertues make a large walke. Againe loke what lawes, what customes, what worthie dedes, or sayynges haue bene vsed heretofore, all these might serue wel for the confirmacion of this matter. lastly where honestie is called in, to establish a cause: there is nature and God hym selfe present from whome commeth al goodnesse.

Profite howe largely it extendeth.

In the seconde place where I spake of profite, this is to be learned, that vnder the same is comprehended the gettyng of gaine, and the eschewyng of harme. Againe, concernyng profite (which also beareth the name of goodnesse) it partely perteineth to the bodie, as beautie, strength, and healthe,

Profite beareth the name of goodnes, whiche is thre folded.

partely to the mynde, as the encrease of witte, the gettyng of experience, and heapyng together of muche learnyng: and partely to fortune (as Philosophers take it) wherby bothe wealth, honor, and frendes are gotten. Thus he that diuideth profite, can not want matter. Thirdely in declaryng it

Pleasures, largely sette out.

is pleasaunt, I might heape together the varietie of pleasures, whiche comme by trauaile, firste the swetenesse of the tongue, the holsomnesse of the ayer in other countries, the goodly wittes of the gentlemen, the straunge and auncient buildynges, the wonderful monumentes, the great learned workes in al faculties, with diuerse other like, and almost infinite pleasures.

Easenesse of trauaile.

The easines of trauaile may thus beperswaded, if we shew that free passage is by wholsō lawes appointed, for al straungers, & waie fairers. And seyng this life is none other thyng but a trauaile, & we as pilgrymes wander frō place to place, muche fondenesse it were to thinke that hard, which nature hath made easie, yea & pleasaunt also. None are more healthful, none more lusty, none more mery, none more strōg of body, thē suche as haue trauailed countries. Mary vnto them

Trauaile vnto whome it is harde.

that had rather sleape al day, then wake one houre, tholyng for honest labour, slouthful ydlenesse: thinking this life to be none other thyng but a continual resting place, vnto suche

pardie

pardy, it shall seme painfull to abide any labour. To learne Logique, to learne the Lawe, to some it semeth so harde, that nothyng can enter into their heddes, and the reason is, that thei want a will, and an earnest mynde to do their endeuour. For vnto a willyng harte, nothyng can bee harde, laie lode on suche a mannes backe, and his good harte maie soner make his backe to ake, then his good will, can graunt to yelde and refuse the weighte. And now where the sweete hath his sower ioyned with hym, it shalbee wisedome to speake somewhat of it, to mitigate the sowernesse thereof, as muche as maie be possible.

Good will makes great burdeines light.

That is lawfull and praise worthy, whiche lawes dooe graunt, good men do allowe, experience commendeth, and men in all ages haue moste vsed.

Lawfull.

A thyng is necessary twoo maner of waies. Firste, when either we must do some one thyng, or els do worse. As if one should threaten a woman, to kill her, if she would not lie w̄ him, wherin appereth a forcible necessitie. As touchyng trauaile we might saie, either a man must be ignorant, of many good thinges, and want greate experience, or els he must trauaill. Now to be ignorant, is a greate shame, therefore to trauaill is moste nedefull, if we will auoyde shame. The other kynde of necessitie is, when we perswade men to beare those crosses pacientlye, whiche God doeth sende vs, considering will we, or nill we, nedes must we abide them.

Necessary two waies taken.

¶ To aduise one, to study the lawes of Englande.

AGain, when we se our frende, enclined to any kynde of learnyng, wee muste counsaill hym to take that waie still, and by reason perswade hym, that it wer the metest waie for hym, to dooe his countrey moste good. As if he geue his mynde, to the Lawes of the realme, and finde an aptnes thereunto, we maie aduise hym, to continue in his good entent, and by reason perswade hym, that it were moste mete for him so to do. And firste we might shew hym, that the study is honest and godly, considering it onely foloweth Justice, and is grounded wholy vpon naturall reason, wherein we mighte take a large scope, if we would fully speake of all thynges, that are cōprehended vnder ho-

Lawes of Englande.

nestie. For he that will knowe what honestie is, muste haue an vnderstandyng, of all the vertues together. And because the knowlege of theim is moste necessary, I will briefly set theim furth. There are foure especial and chief vertues, vnder whom all other are comprehended.

Wertnes especiall and chief foure in nõber

- Prudence, or wisedome.
- Justice.
- Manhode.
- Temperaunce.

Prudence what it is.

PRudence or wisedome (for I will here take theim bothe for one) is a vertue that is occupied euermore, in searchyng out the truthe. Nowe wee all loue knowlege, & haue a desire to passe other therin, and thinke it shame to be ignoraunt: and by studyng the lawe, the truth is gotten out, by knowyng the truth, wisedome is attained. Wherefore, in perswadyng one to studie the Lawe, you maie shewe hym that he shall get wisedome thereby. Under this vertue are comprehended.

Partes of Prudence.

- Memorie.
- Understandyng.
- Foresight.

THE memorie calleth to accompte those thynges, that wer doen heretofore, and by a former remembraũce, getteth an after witte, and learneth to auoyde deceipt.

Understandyng seeth thynges presently dooen, and perceiueth what is in them, waiyng and debatyng them, vntill his mynde be fully contented.

Foresight, is a gatherynge by coniectures, what shall happen, and an euident perceiuyng of thynges to come, before thei do come.

Justice.

Justice, what it is.

Justice is a vertue, gathered by long space, geuyng euery one his awne, mindyng in all thynges, the cõmon profite of our countrey, whereunto man is moste bounde, and oweth his full obedience.

Now, nature firste taught manne, to take this waie, and would euery one so to do vnto another, as he would be doen vnto

vnto hymselfe. For whereas Rain watereth all in like, the Sonne shineth indifferently ouer all, the fruict of the yerth encreaseth equally, God warneth vs to bestowe our good wil after the same sort, doyng as duetie byndeth vs, and as necessitie shall b st require. Yea, God graunteth his giftes diuersly emong men, because he would man should knowe, and fele, that man is borne for man, and that one hath nede of another. And therefore, though nature hath not stirred some, yet through the experiēce that man hath, concernyng his commoditie: many haue turned the lawe of nature, into an ordinary custome, and folowed the same, as though thei were bounde to it by a Lawe. Afterwarde, the wisedome of Princes, and the feare of Goddes threate, whiche was vttered by his woorde, forced men by a lawe, bothe to allowe thinges cōfirmed by nature, and to beare with old custome or els thei should not onely suffer in the body, temporal punishement, but also lose their soules for euer. Nature is a righte, that phantasie hath not framed, but God hath grafted, & geuen man power therunto, wherof these are deriues. Nature, what it is.

Religion and acknowlegyng of God.
Naturall loue to our children, and other.
Thankfulnesse to all men.
Stoutnesse bothe to withstande and reuenge.
Reuerence to the superiour.
Assured and constaunt truthe in thynges.

REligion is an humble worshippyng of God, acknowlegyng hym to be the creatour of creatures, and the onely geuer of al good thynges. Religion.

Naturall loue is an inward good will, that we beare to our parentes, wife, children, or any other that bee nighe of kynne vnto vs, stirred thereunto not onely by our flesthe, thinkyng that like as we wold loue our selfes, so we shuld loue theim but also by a likenesse of mynde: and therefore generally we loue all, because all bee like vnto vs, but yet we loue them moste, that bothe in body and mynd, be moste like vnto vs. And hereby it cometh that often we are liberal, & bestowe our goodes vpon the nedy, remembryng that Naturall loue.

thei are all one flesshe with vs, and should not wante, when we haue it, without our greate rebuke, and token of our moste vnkynde dealyng.

Thankfulnes. Thankefulnesse is a requityng of loue, for loue, and wil, for will, shewyng to our frendes, the like goodnesse that we finde in them, yea, striuyng to passe theim in kyndenesse, losyng neither tyme nor tide, to do them good.

Stoutenesse. Stoutnes to withstand & reuenge euil, is then vsed whē either we are like to haue harme, and do withstand it, or els whē we haue suffred euill for the truthsake, & therupon do reuenge it, or rather punishe the euill, whiche is in the man

Reuerence. Reuerence, is an humblenesse in outward behauor, whē we do our dutie tothem, that are our betters, or vnto suche as are called to serue the kyng, in some greate vocacion.

Assured and constant truth Assured and constant truthe is, when we doo beleue that those thynges, whiche are or haue been, or hereafter are aboute to be, cannot otherwise be, by any meanes possible.

Right by custome. That is right by custome, whiche long tyme hath confirmed, beyng partly grounded vpon nature, and partly vpon reason, as where we are taught by nature, to knowe the euer liuyng God, and to worship him in spirite, we turnyng natures light, into blynde custome, without Goddes will, haue vsed at lengthe to beleue, that he was really with vs here in yearthe, and worshipped hym not in spirite, but in Copes, in Candlesticckes, in Belles, in Tapers, and in Censers, in Crosses, in Banners, in shauen Crounes and long gounes, and many good morowes els, deuised onely by the phantasie of manne, without the expresse will of God. The whiche childishe toyes, tyme hath so long confirmed, that the truthe is scant able to trie theim out, our hartes bee so harde, and our wittes be so farre to seke.

Custome with out natures grounde, vngodly.

Again wher we se by nature, that euery one should deale truely, custome encreaseth natures will, and maketh by auncient demeane, thynges to bee iustly obserued, whiche nature hath appoynted.

As { Bargainyng. / Commons, or equalitee. / Judgement geuen.

Bargainyng

BArgainyng is, wh:n twoo haue agreed, for the sale of some one thyng, the one will make his felowe to stande to the bargain, though it be to his neighbors vndoyng, restyng vpon this poynte, that a bargain is a bargain, and must stand without all excepciō, although nature requireth to haue thynges doden by conscience, and would that bargainyng should bee builded vpon Justice, whereby an vpright dealyng, and a charitable loue is vttered emongest all men.

Communes or equalitee, is whē the people by long time haue a ground, or any suche thyng emong theim, the whiche some of them will kepe still, for custome sake, and not suffer it to be fensed, and so turned to pasture, though thei might gain ten tymes the value: but suche stubburnesse in keppyng of Commons for custome sake, is not standyng with Justice, because it is holden against all right. Commons.

Judgement geuen, is when a matter is confirmed by a Parlamente, or a Lawe, determined by a Judge, vnto the whiche many hed strong men, will stande to dye for it, without sufferaunce of any alteracion, not remembryng the circumstaunce of thynges, and that tyme altereth good actes. Judgement geuen.

That is righte by a Lawe, when the truthe is vttered in writyng, and commaunded to bee kepte, euen as it is sette furthe vnto them. Right by Lawe.

¶ Fortitude or manhode.

FOrtitude is a considerate hasardyng vpon daunger, and a willyng harte to take paines in behalfe of the right. Now when can stoutnes be better vsed, then in iust maintenaunce of the lawe, and cōstaunt tryng of the truthe? Of this vertue there are foure braunches. Manhode.

- Honourableneſſe.
- Stouteneſſe.
- Sufferaunce.
- Continuaunce.

HOnorableneſſe, is a noble orderyng of weightie matters, with a lustie harte, and a liberall vsyng of his wealthe, to the encreasse of honour. Honorablenesse

Stoutenelle. Stoutnelle is an assured trust in hymselfe, when he myn-deth the compasse of moste weightie matters, and a coura-gious defendyng of his cause.

Sufferaunce. Sufferaunce is a willyng and a long bearyng of trouble and takyng of paines, for the maintenaunce of vertue, and the wealthe of his countrey.

Continuaunce Continuaunce is a stedfast and constant abidyng, in a pur-posed and well aduised matter, not yeldyng to any manne in querell of the right.

¶ Temperaunce.

Temperaunce. Temperaunce is a measuryng of affeccions, accor-dyng to the will of reason, and a subduyng of lust vnto the Square of honestie. Yea, and what one thyng doth soner mitigate the immoderate passions of our nature, then the perfect knowlege of right and wrong and the iuste execucion appoynted by a lawe, for asswagyng the wilfull? Of this vertue there are three partes.

Sobrietie.
Gentlenesse.
Modestie.

Sobrietie. Sobrietie is a bridelyng by discrecion the wilful-nesse of desire.

Gentlenesse. Gentlenesse is a caulmyng of heate, when wee begin to rage, and a lowly behauior in all our body

Modestie. Modestie is an honest shamefastnesse, whereby we kepe a constant loke, and appere sober in all our outward doynges. Now euen as we should desire the vse of all these vertues, so should we eschewe not onely the contraries herunto, but also auoyde all suche euilles, as by any meanes dooe with-drawe vs from well doyng.

¶ It is profitable.

After we haue perswaded our frend, that the lawe is A honest, drawyng our argumētes frō the heape of ver tues, we must go further with hym, & bryng hym in good beleue, that it is very gainfull. For many one seke not the knowlege of learnyng for the goodnesse sake, but rather take paines for the gain, which theirof doth arise by it. Take awaie the hope of lucre, and you shall se fewe take any pai-nes:

Hope of re-warde maketh men take pai-nes.

nes: No, not in the vineyard of the lorde. For although none should folowe any trade of life, for the gain sake, but euē as he seeth it is moste necessary, for thaduauncement of Gods glory, & not passe in what estimacion thinges are had in this worlde: yet because we are all so weake of wit, in our tēder yeres, that we cannot weigh with our selfes what is best, & our body so neshe, that it loketh euer to bee cherished, wes take that, whiche is moste gainfull for vs, and forsake that altogether, whiche we oughte moste to folowe. So that for lacke of honest meanes, and for want of good order, the best waie is not vsed, neither is Goddes honor in our first peres remembred. I had rather (saide one) make my child a cobler then a preacher, a tankerd bearer, then a scholer. For what shall my sonne seke for learnyng, when he shall neuer gette therby any liuyng? Set my sonne to that, whereby he maie get somewhat? Do ye not se how euery one catcheth & pulleth frō the churche what thei can? I feare me one day thei will plucke doune churche and all. Call you this the Gospell, when men seke onely to prouide for their bellies, & care not a grote though their soules go to helle? A patrone of a benefice wil haue a poore ygrame soule, to beare the name of a persone for .xx. marke, or .x. li: and the patrone hymselfe, wil take vp for his snapshare, as good as an .c. marke, Thus God is robbed, learnyng decaied, England dishonored, and honestie not regarded. Thold Romaines not yet knowyng Christ, and yet beyng led by a reuerēt feare towardes God, made this lawe. Sacrum sacroue commendatū qui clepserit, rapseritue, parricida est He that shall closely steale, or forcibly take awaie that thyng, whiche is holy, or geuen to the holy place: is a murderer of his coūtrey. But what haue I said, I haue a greater matter in hand, then wherof I was a ware, my penne hath run ouer farre, when my leasure serueth not, nor yet my witte is able to talke this case in suche wise, as it should bee, and as the largenesse therof requireth. Therefore to my lawyer again, whom I doubte not to perswade, but that he shall haue the deuill and all, if he learne a pase, and dooe as some haue dooen before hym. Therefore I will shewe howe largely this profite extendeth, that

The Romaynes lawes for Churche dignitees.

I

Lawe, profitable to the purse.

I may haue him the soner, to take this matter in hand. The lawe therefore not onely bryngeth muche gain with it, but also auaunceth men bothe to worshippe, renoume, and honour. All men shall seke his fauour, for his learnyng sake: the best shall like his cõpany, for his callyng: and his welth with his skill shalbe such, that none shalbe able to woorke hym any wrong. Some consider profite, by these circumstaunces, folowyng.

To whom.
When.
Where.
Wherefore.

Circumstaunces, in obseruyng profite.

NEither can I vse a better order, then these circumstaunces minister vnto me. To whom therefore is the Lawe profitable? Marie to them that bee best learned, that haue redy wittes, and will take paines. When is the lawe profitable? Assuredly both now and euermore, but especially in this age, where all men go together by the eares for this matter, and that matter. Such alteracion hath been heretofore, that hereafter nedes muste ensue muche altercacion. And where is all this a do? Euen in litle Englande, or in Westminster hall, where neuer yet wanted busines, nor yet euer shall. Wherefore is the lawe profitable? Undoubtedly because no manne could hold his awne, if there were not an order to staie vs, and a Lawe to restrain vs. And I praie you who getteth the money? The lawyers no doubt. And were not lande sometymes cheaper bought, then got by the triall of a lawe? Do not men commonly for trifles fall out? Some for loppyng of a tree, spēdes al that euer thei haue, another for a Gose, that graseth vpon his ground, tries the lawe so hard, that he proues him self a Gander. Now when men bee so mad, is it not easie to gette money emong theim. Undoubtedly the lawyer neuer dieth a begger. And no maruaill. For an. C. begges for hym, and makes awaie all that thei haue, to get that of hym, the whiche the oftener he bestoweth, the more still he getteth. So that he gaineth alwaies, aswell by encrease of lernyng as by storyng his purse with money, wheras the other get a warme

Folye in many, that go to the Lawe.

Lawyers, neuer dy beggers

warme sonne often tymes, and a flappe with a fore taile for al that euer thei haue spent. And why woulde they? Tushe, if it were to do againe, thei would do it: therfore the lawyer can neuer want a liuyng, til the yearth want men, and al be voyde.

¶ The lawe easie to many, and harde to some.

I Doubt not, but my lawyer is perswaded that the law is profitable: now must I beare him in hād that it is an easie matter to become a lawier. the whiche if I shalbe able to proue, I doubt not, but he will proue a good lawier, & that right shortly. the law is groūded vpon reason. And what hardenesse is it for a man by reason to fynde out reason. That can not be straung vnto him, the grounde wherof, is grafted in his brest. What, though the lawe be in a straunge tongue, the wordes may be gotte with out any paine, when the matter selfe is compast with ease. Tushe, a litle lawe will make a greate showe, and therfore though it be muche to becomme excellent, yet it is easie, to get a taist. And surely for getting of money, a litle wil do as muche good oftentymes, as a greate deale. There is not a word in the law, but it is a grote in ỹ lawiers purse. I haue knowne diuerse that by familiar talkyng, & moutyng together haue comme to right good learning without any great booke skil, or muche beating of their braine by any close studie, or secrete mulyng in their chāber. But where some say the lawe is very harde, and discourage young men from the studie therof, it is to be vnderstande of suche as wil take no paines at al, nor yet mynde the knowlege therof. For what is not hard to man, when he wanteth will to do his best. As good slepe and saie it is harde: as wake, and take no paines.

The lawe. { Godly. Iuste. Necessarie. Pleasaunt.

WHat nedeth me to proue the lawe to be Godly, iust, or necessarie, seeyng it is grounded vpon Godes

wil, and all lawes are made for the maintenaunce of iuſtice. If we will not beleue that it is neceſſarie, let vs haue rebelles againe to diſturbe the Realme. Our nature is ſo fonde that we knowe not the neceſſitie of a thyng, til wee fynde ſome lacke of the ſame. Bowes are not eſtemed as they haue bene emong vs Engliſhmen, but if we were ones well beaten by our enemies wee ſhoulde ſoone knowe the wante, and with feelyng the ſmarte lament muche our folie. Take awaie the lawe, and take awaie our lifes, for nothyng mainteineth our wealthe, our health, & the ſauegard of our bodies, but the lawe of a Realme, wherby the wicked are condempned, and the godly are defended.

Lawes maintein lyfe.

¶ An Epiſtle to perſwade a young ientleman to Mariage, deuiſed by Eraſmus in the behalfe of his frende.

ALbeit you are wyſe enough of your ſelfe throughe that ſingulare wiſedome of yours (moſt louyng Roſyn) and litle needes the aduiſe of other, yet either for that olde frendſhippe whiche hath bene betwixt vs, and continued with our age euen from our cradles, or for ſuche your greate good turnes ſhowed at all tymes towardes me, or elles for that facte kynred and alliaunce whiche is betwixt vs: I thought my ſelfe thus muche to owe vnto you if I woulde be ſuche a one in deede, as you euer haue taken me, that is to ſaie a man bothe frendly and thankeful, to tell you freely (whatſoeuer I iudged to appertein either to the ſauegarde, or worſhippe of you, or any of yours) and willyngly to warne you of the ſame. We are better ſeen oftentymes in other mens matters, than we are in our owne. I haue felte often your aduiſe in myne owne affaires, and I haue founde it to be as fortunate vnto me, as it was frendly. Nowe if you wil likewyſe in your owne matters folowe my counſail, I truſte it ſhal ſo come to paſſe that neither I ſhal repent me for that I haue geuen you counſail; nor yet you ſhal forthynke your ſelf, that you haue obeyed, and folowed myne aduiſe. There was at ſupper with me the twelfe daie of Aprill when I laie in the

country

countrie, Antonius Baldus, a man (as you knowe) that most earnestly tendreth your welfare, and one that hath bene alwaies of great acquaintaunce and familiaritie with your sonne in lawe: A heauie feast we had, and ful of muche mournyng. He tolde me greatly to bothe our heauinesse, that your mother that moste godly woman, was departed this lyfe, & your sister beyng ouercome with sorow & heauinesse, had made her selfe a Nunne, so that in you onely remaineth the hope of issue and maintenaunce of your stocke. whereupon your frendes with one consent haue offerde you in Mariage a gentlewoman of a good house, and muche wealthe, fayre of bodie, very well brought vp, and suche a one as loueth you with all her harte. But you (either for your late sorowes whiche you haue in freshe remembraunce or elles for Religion sake) haue so purposed to lyue a syngle lyfe, that neither can you for loue of your stocke, neither for desier of issue, nor yet for any entreatie that your frendes can make, either by prayeng, or by weppyng: be brought to chaunge your mynde.

And yet notwithstandyng all this (if you wil folowe my counsaill) you shalbe of an other mynde, and leauyng to lyue syngle whiche bothe is barren, and smally agreeyng with the state of mannes nature, you shall geue your selfe wholy to moste holy wedlocke. And for this parte I will neither wishe that the loue of your fryndes, (whiche elles ought to ouercome your nature) nor yet myne authoritie that I haue ouer you, shoulde doe me any good at all to compasse this my requeste, if I shall not proue vnto you by moste plaine reasons, that it will be bothe muche more honest, more profitable, and also more pleasaunt for you, to marie, than to lyue otherwyse. Yea, what will you saie, if I proue it also to be necessarie for you at this tyme to Marie. And firste of all, if honestie maie moue you in this matter (the whiche emong all good men ought to bee of muche weighte,) what is more honest then Matrimonie, the whiche CHRISTE hym selfe did make honest, when not onely he, vouchesaufed to bee at a Mariage with his Mother, but also did consecrate the Mariage

feaste with the first miracle that euer he did vpon yearthe? What is more holie then Matrimonie whiche the creatour of all thynges did institute, did fasten, and make holie, and nature it selfe did establishe? What is more praise wor-
Praise wor-thie to marie. thie than that thyng, the whiche whosoeuer shall dis-praise, is condempned streight for an Heretique? Matrimo-nie is euen as honourable, as the name of an Heretique, is
Right and mete to marie. thought shamefull. What is more right, or meete, than to geue that vnto the posteritie, the whiche we haue receiued of our auncestors? What is more inconsiderate than vnder the desire of holinesse to eschew that as vnholie, which God hym selfe the fountaine and father of al holinesse, woulde haue to be counted as moste holie? What is more vnmanly than that man shoulde go against the lawes of mankynde? what is more vnthankfull than to deny that vnto younge-lynges, the whiche (if thou haddest not receyued of thine el-ders) thou couldest not haue bene the man liuyng, able to haue denied it vnto theim. That if you woulde knowe who was the first founder of Mariage, you shal vnderstande that it came vp not by Licurgus, nor yet by Moses, nor yet by Solon, but it was first ordeined, & instituted by the chiefe
Mariage first made by God. founder of all thynges, commended by the same, made ho-nourable and made holie by the same. For at the firste when he made man of the yearthe, he did perceyue that his lyfe shoulde be miserable and vnsauerie, excepte he ioyned Eue
After mā was made, the wo-man was ioy-ned vnto hym. as mate vnto hym. Wherupon he did not make the wyfe v-pon the same claie wherof he made man, but he made her of Adams ribbes, to the ende we might plainely vnderstande that nothyng ought to be more deare vnto vs thē our wyfe, nothyng more nigh vnto vs, nothyng surer ioyned, and (as a man woulde saie) faster glewed together. The selfe same
Matrimonie renewed after the floude. GOD after the generall floude, beyng reconciled to man-kynde is saied to proclaime this lawe firste of all, not that men shoulde lyue single, but that they shoulde encrease, be multiplied, and fill the yearth. But howe I praie you could this thyng be, sauyng by mariage and lawful comyng toge-ther? And first least we shoulde allege here either the liber-tie of Moyses lawe, or els the necessitie of that tyme: What

other

other meanyng els hath that commune and commẽdable re-
porte of Christe in the Gospell, for this cause (saieth he)
shall man leaue father and mother and cleaue to his wyfe.
And what is more holie than the reuerence and loue due vn-
to parentes? and yet the truthe promised in Matrimonie is
preferred before it. and by whose meanes? Mary by GOD
hym self. at what time? Forsouth not onely emõg the Jues,
but also emong the Christians. Men forsake father and mo-
ther and takes themselfes wholie to their wyfes. The sonne
beyng past one and twentie yeres, is free and at his libertie.
Yea the sonne beyng abdicated, becommeth no sonne. But
it is death onely that parteth maried folke, if yet death doe
part them. Now if the other Sacramentes (whereunto the
Churche of Christe chiefely leaneth) bee reuerently vsed,
who doeth not see that this Sacramente shoulde haue the
most reuerence of al, the whiche was instituted of GOD,
and that firste and before all other. As for the other they
were instituted vpon yearthe, this was ordeined in Para-
dise: the other were geuen for a remedie, this was appoinc-
ted for the felowshippe of felicitie: the other were applied
to mannes nature after the fall, this onely was geuen when
man was in moste perfite state. If we counte those lawes
good that mortall men haue enacted, shall not the lawe of
Matrimonie be moste holie, whiche wee haue receyued of
him, by whome we haue receiued lyfe, the whiche lawe was
then together enacted whē man was firste created? And last-
ly to strengthen this lawe with an example and deede doen
Christe beyng an young man (as the Storie reporteth) was
called to a Mariage, and came thither willyngly with his
mother, and not onely was he there present, but also he did
honest the feaste with a wonderfull meruaile begynnyng
firste in none other place to worke his wounders, and to doe
his miracles. Why then I praie you (will one saie) howe
happeneth it that Christ forbare Mariage? as though good
Seir there are not many thynges in Christe at the whiche
we ought rather to meruaile, than seeke to folowe. he was
borne and had no father, he came into this worlde without
his mothers painefull trauaile, he came out of the graue

Natures worke allowed by Goddes worde.

Mariage beautified by a miracle.

when it was closed vp, what is not in hym aboue nature? Let these thynges be propre vnto hym. Let vs that lyue within the boundes of nature, reuerence those thynges that are aboue nature, and folowe suche thynges as are within our reache suche as we are able to compasse. But yet (you saie) he woulde bee borne of a Virgine: Of a Virgine (I graunt) but yet of a maried Virgine. A Virgyne beyng a mother did moste become GOD, and beyng maried she did showe what was beste for vs to doe. Virginitie did become her, who beyng vndefiled, brought hym forthe by heauenly inspiration that was vndefiled. And yet Joseph beyng her housbande dothe commende vnto vs the lawe of chaiste wedlocke. Yea, howe coulde he better sette out the societie in wedlocke, than that willyng to declare the secrete societie of his diuine nature with the bodie and soule of man, whiche is wonderfull euen to the heauenly Aungelles, and to showe his vnspeakable and euer abidyng loue towarde his Churche: he doeth call hym selfe the Brydegrome, and her the Bryde. Greate is the Sacrament of Matrimonie (saith Paule) betwixt Christe and his Churche. If there had bene vnder heauen any holier yoke, if there had bene any more religioule couenaunt than is Matrimonie, without doubte the example thereof had bene vsed. But what lyke thyng doe you reade in all Scripture of the syngle lyfe? The Apostle S. Paul in the thirteen Chapi. of his Epistle to the Hebrues calleth Matrimonie honourable emong all men, and a bedde vndefiled, and yet the syngle lyfe is not so muche as ones named in the same place. May they are not borne withall that lyue syngle, except they make some recompence with doyng some greater thyng. For elles, if a man folowyng the lawe of nature, doe labour to gette children, he is euer to be preferred before hym that lyueth still vnmaried, for none other ende, but because he woulde bee out of trouble, and lyue more free. Wee doe reade that suche as are in very deede chaiste of their body, and lyue a Virgines lyfe, haue bene praised, but the syngle lyfe was neuer praised of it selfe. Nowe againe the lawe of Moles accurseth the barrennesse

Mariage honorable.

of maried

of maried folke, and wee doe reade that some were excommunicated for the same purpose, and banished from the aultar. And wherefore I praie you: Marie Sir because that they like vnprofitable persones, and liuyng onely to theim selues, did not encrease the worlde with any issue. In Deuteronomie it was the chiefest token of Goddes blessynges vnto the Israelites that none shoulde be barren emong them, neither man, nor yet woman. And Lya is thought to bee out of Goddes fauour, because she coulde not bryng furth childzen. Yea, and in the Psalme of Dauid an hundzeth twentie and eight, it is counted one of the chiefest partes of blesse to bee a frutefull woman. Thy wyfe (sayeth the Psalme) shalbe plentifull lyke a vine, and thy childzen lyke the braunches of Olyues, rounde about thy Table. Then if the lawe do condempne, and vtterly disallowe barren Matrimonie, it hath alwaies muche more condempned the syngle lyfe of Bacchelaures. Yf the fault of nature hath not escaped blame, the will of man can neuer wante rebuke. Yf they are accursed that woulde haue childzen, and can gette none, what deserue they whiche neuer trauaile to escape barreinesse?

Deut. vi.

Lia.

The Hebzues had suche a reuerence to maried folke, that he whiche had maried a wyfe, the same yeare shoulde not be forced to go on warrefaire. A Citie is lyke to fall in ruine, excepte there be watchemen to defende it with armour. But assured destruction muste here needes folowe excepte men throughe the benefite of Mariage supplie issue, the whiche through mortalitie doe from tyme to tyme decaie.

Hebzues lawe for maried folke.

Ouer & besides this the Romaines did laie a penaltie vpon their backe that liued a syngle lyfe, yea they would not suffer thē to beare any office in the cōmune weale. But thei that had encreased the world with issue, had a reward by cōmune assent, as men that had deserued well of their countrie. The olde foren lawes did appoincte penalties for suche as liued syngle, the whiche although they were qualified by Constantius the Emperour in the fauor of Christes religiō, yet these lawes do declare howe litle it is for the commune

Plutarchus in the lyfe of Caro.

weales

weales aduauncement, that either a Citie should be lessened for loue of sole life, or els that the countrie shoulde be filled ful of bastardes. And besides this, the Emperour Augustus being a sore punisher of euil behauiour, examined a souldiour because he did not marie his wife accordyng to the lawes, the whiche souldiour had hardely escaped iudgement, if he had not gotte. iij. children by her. And in this point doe the lawes of al Emperours seeme fauourable to maried folke, that they abrogate suche vowes as were proclaimed to be kept and brought in by Miscella, and woulde that after the penaltie were remitted, suche couenauntes, beyng made against al right and conscience, shoulde also be taken of none effect, and as voide in the lawe. Ouer and besides this, Vlpianus doth declare that the matter of Dowries was euermore and in al places the chiefest aboue al other, the whiche should neuer haue bene so, excepte there came to the cõmune weale some especial profite by mariage. Mariage hath euer bene reuerenced, but frutefulnesse of body hath bene muche more. for so sone as one gotte the name of a father, there discended not onely vnto him enheirtaunce of lande, but al bequestes, and gooddes of suche his frendes as dyed intestate. The whiche thyng appereth plaine by the Satyre Poete.

Augustus Cesar.

Miscella.

Vlpianus.

Iuuenal.

Though mé thou art made, an heire to haue lande,
Thou hast al bequestes one with another,
All gooddes and cattel are come to thy hande
Yea gooddes intestate, thou shalt haue euer.

Now he that had. iij. children, was more fauoured, for he was exempted from al outward ambassages. Againe he that had fyue childen was discharged and free from all personal office, as to haue the gouernaunce, or patronage of younge gentlemẽ, the whiche in those daies was a great charge & ful of paines without any profit at al. He that had. iiij. children was free by the Emperour Iulianus law, not onely frõ beyng a mã at Armes, or Captaine ouer horsemen: but also frõ al other offices in the cõmune weale. And the wise founders of all lawes geue good reason why suche fauor was shewed to maried folke. For what is more blessed thã to liue euer?

Now

Now where as nature hath denied this, Matrimony doth geue it by a certaine sleyght, so muche as maye be. Who dothe not desire to be bruted, and liue through fame emõg men hereafter? Now there is no buildinge of pillers, no erectinge of Arches, no blasinge of Armes, that dothe more sette forthe a mannes name, then doth the encrease of childre. Albinus obteined his purpose of the Emperour Adriã, for none other desert of his, but ỹ he had begote an housefull of children. And therefore the Emperoure (to the hinderaũce of his treasure) suffred the children to enter wholye vpon their fathers possession, forasmuche as he knewe well that his realme was more strengthened with encrease of children, then with store of money. Againe, all other lawes are neither agreynge for all Countryes, nor yet vsed at all times. Licurgus made a lawe, that they whiche married not, shoulde be kepte in Somer from the sightes of stage playes, and other wonderfull shewes, and in winter they shoulde go naked aboute the market place, and accursinge theim selues, they shoulde confesse openly that they hadde iustlye deserued suche punishment, because they did not liue accordinge to the lawes. And without any more a doe, will ye knowe how much our olde Auncesters heretofore estemed Matrimonie? Waye well, and consider the punishment for breaking of wedlocke. The Grekes heretofore thought it mete to punishe the breache of Matrimonie with battaile that continued ten yeres. Yea, moreouer not onely by the Romaine lawe, but also by the Hebrues and straũgers, aduouterous persons wer punished with death. If a thiefe payde. iiij. times the value of that which he toke awaye, he was deliuered, but an aduouterers offence, was punished with the sworde. Emonge the Hebrues, the people stoned the aduouterers to death, with their owne handes, because they had broken that, without which the worlde could not continue. And yet they thought not this sore law sufficient inoughe, but graunted further to runne him thorowe withoute lawe, that was taken in aduoutrye, as who should saye, they graunted that to the griefe of maried folke, the whiche they woulde hardlye graunte to hym

Licurgus lawe against vnmaried folke.

Punishmẽtes appoynted for breaking of wedlocke.

The Grecians reuengement for aduoutrye.

The Hebrues stoned Aduouterers.

Lawful for the maried man among the Hebrues to kyll the aduouterer

that stode in his owne defence for saufegarde of his life, as though he offended more haynously that toke a mans wife, then he did that toke away a mannes lyfe. Assuredly wedlocke muste neades seme to be a mooste holye thinge, considerinye that beinge once broken, it muste neades be purged with mannes bloude, the reuenger wherof is not forced to abide either lawe or iudge, the whiche libertie is not graũted anye to vse vpon him that hathe killed either his father or his mother. But what do we with these Lawes written? This is the lawe of Nature, not written in the Tables of Brasse, but firmelye prynted in oure myndes, the whiche Lawe, whosoeuer dothe not obeye, he is not worthye to be called a manne, muche lesse shall he be counted a Citezen. For if to liue well (as the Stoikes wittelye do dispute) is to folowe the course of Nature, what thinge is so agreynge with Nature as Matrimonye? For there is nothinge so naturall not onelye vnto mankinde, but also vnto all other liuinge creatures, as it is for euerye one of theim to kepe their owne kinde from decaye, and throughe encreasle of issue, to make the whole kinde immortall. The whiche thinge (all menne knowe) can neuer be dooen, without wedlocke and carnall copulation. It were a fowle thinge, that brute beastes shoulde obeye the lawe of Nature, and menne like Gyauntes shoulde fighte againste Nature. Whose worcke if we woulde narowly loke vpon, we shall perceyue that in all thinges here vpon earthe, she woulde there shoulde be a certaine spice of mariage. I will not speake nowe of Trees, wherin (as Plinie mooste certainelye writeth) there is founde Mariage with some manifeste difference of bothe kyndes, that excepte the houshande Tree do leane with his boughes euen as thoughe he shoulde desire copulation vpon the womenne Trees growynge rounde aboute him: they woulde elles altogether ware barraine. The same Plinie also dothe report that certaine aucthoures do thincke there is bothe male and female in all thinges that the Earthe yeldeth. I will not speake of precious stones, wherein the same aucthoure affirmeth, and yet not he onelye neither, that there is bothe

Matrimonie naturall

Mariage emonge trees.

Mariage emong precious stones.

male and female emonge theim. And I praye you hath not GOD so knitte all thinges together with certaine lynckes, that one euer semeth to haue neade of another? What saye you of the skye or firmamente, that is euer stirrynge with contiuuall mouinge? Dothe it not playe the parte of a husbande, while it puffeth vp the Earthe, the mother of all thinges, and maketh it fruitefull with castinge seede (as a manne wouldesaye) vpon it. But I thincke I ouer tedious to runne ouer all thinges. And to what ende are these thinges spoken? Marye sir, because we might vnderstande that throughe Mariage, all things are, and do styll continue, and without the same all thinges do decaye, and come to noughte. The olde auncient and moste wise Poetes do feyne (who hadde euer a desire vnder the coloure of fables to set forthe preceptes of Philosophie) that the Giauntes whiche had snakes fete, and were borne of thearth, builded greate hilles that mounted vp to heauen, minding thereby to be at vtter defiaunce with God and all his aungelles. And what meaneth this fable? Marye it sheweth vnto vs, that certaine fierce and sauage menne, suche as were vnknowen, coulde not abide wedlocke for anye worldes good, and therefore they were stricken downe headelonge with lightninge, that is to saye: they were vtterlye destroyed, when they soughte to eschue that, whereby the weale and saulfegarde of all mankinde onelye dothe consiste. Mariage betweene the firmament and the earth.

The fable of Giauntes that fought against Nature.

Nowe againe, the same Poetes do declare that Orpheus the musitian and minstrell, did styrre and make softe with his pleasaunte melodye the moofte harde rockes and stones. And what is their meaninge herein? Assuredlye nothinge elles, but that a wise and well spoken manne, did call backe harde harted menne, suche as liued abroade like Beastes, from open whoredome, and brought them to lyue after the moofte holye lawes of Matrimonye. Thus we se plainelye, that suche a one as hathe no minde of Mariage, semeth to be no manne, but rather a Stone, an enemye to Nature, a rebel to God him selfe, seking through his owne folye, his last ende and destruction. Orpheus.

Well, let vs go on still (seynge we are fallen into fables that are not fables altogether) when the same Orpheus in the middes of Hell, forced Pluto him selfe and all the deuilles there, to graunte him leaue to carye awaye his wife Euridice, what other thinge do we thinke that the Poets meant, but only to set forthe vnto vs the loue in wedlocke the whiche euen amonge the Deuilles was compted good and Godlye.

The most wicked can not chose but alow mariage.

And this also makes wel for the purpose, that in olde time they made Jupiter Gamelius, the God of mariage, & Juno Lucina ladye midwife, to helpe suche women as laboured in child bedde, beynge fondlye deceiued, and superstitiously erring in naming of the Gods, and yet not missinge the trueth, in declaring that Matrimonie is an holy thinge, and mete for the worthines therof, that the Goddes in heauen shoulde haue care ouer it. Emonge diuers countries, and diuers menne, there haue bene diuers lawes and customes vsed. Yet was there neuer anye countrey so sauage, none so farre from all humanitie, where the name of wedlocke was not counted holye, and hadde in great reuerence. This the Thracia, this the Sarmate, this the Indian, this the Grecian, this the Latine, yea, this the Britain that dwelleth in the furthest parte of all the worlde, or if there be anye that dwell beyonde them haue euer counted to be moste holye. And why so? Marye because that thinge must needes be commune to all, whiche the commune mother vnto all, hath grafted in vs all, and hath so thorowlye grafted the same in vs, that not onely stockedoues and Pigions, but also the most wilde beastes haue a natural felinge of this thinge. For the Lyons are gentle against the Lionesse. The Tygers fight for safegard of their yong whelpes. The Asse runnes through the hote fyre (which is made to kepe her awaie) for safegarde of her issue. And this they call the lawe of Nature, the whiche as it is of most strengthe and force, so it spreadeth abroade most largely. Therfore as he is counted no good gardener, that being content with thinges present, doth diligently proyne his old trees, and hath no regard either to pimpe or graffe yong settes: be

All nacions euer esteemed mariage.

cause

cause the selfe same Orcharde (thoughe it be neuer so well trimmed) muste nedes decaye in time, and all the trees dye within fewe yeres: So he is not to be counted halfe a diligent citizen, that beinge contente with the present multitude, hathe no regarde to encrease the number. Therefore there is no one man that euer hath bene counted a worthy Citezen, who hath not laboured to get childrē, and sought to bring them vp in Godlines.

Emonge the Hebrues and the Persians he was most commended, that had most wiues, as thoughe the countrey were most beholding to him, that encreased the same with the greatest number of children. Do you seke to be compted more holie then Abraham him selfe? Well, he should neuer haue bene compted the father of manye Nacions, and that through Gods furtheraunce, if he had forborne the companye of his wife. Do you loke to be reckened more deuoute then Jacob? He doubteth nothinge to raunsome Rachel from her greate bondage. Will you be taken for wiser then Salomon? And yet I praye you what a number of wiues kept he in one house? Will you be compted more chaste thē Socrates, who is reported to beare at home with Zantippe that verye shrewe, and yet not so muche therefore (as he is wonte to ieste accordinge to his olde maner) because he might learne patience at home, but also because he mighte not seme to come behinde with his dutye in doyng the wil of nature. For he beynge a manne, suche a one (as Appollo iudged him by his Oracle to be wise) did well perceyue that he was gote for this cause, borne for this cause, and therfore bounde to yelde so muche vnto nature. For if the olde auncient Philosophers haue saide wel, if our diuines haue proued the thinge not without reason, if it be vsed euerye where for a commune prouerbe, and almost in euerye mans mouthe, that neither God nor yet Nature, did euer make any thinge in vayne: Why did he geue vs such membres, how happeneth we haue suche luste, and suche power to get issue, if the single lyfe and none other be altogether prayse worthye? If one shoulde bestowe vpon you a verye good thinge, as a bowe, a coate, or a sworde, al men would

The Hebrues and Persians had a number of wiues

Abraham.

Jacob.

Salomon.

Socrates

thincke you were not worthye to haue the thinge, if either you coulde not, or you woulde not vse it, and occupie it. And where as all other thinges are ordeyned vpon suche greate considerations, it is not like that Nature slepte or forgate her selfe when she made this one thinge. And nowe here will some saye, that this fowle and filthye desire, and styrringe vnto lust, came neuer in by Nature, but through Sinne: for whose wordes I passe not a strawe, seinge their saiynges are as false, as God is true. For I pray you was not Matrimonye instituted (whose worke can not be done without these membres) before there was anye Synne. And againe, whence haue all other brute beastes their prouocations: of Nature, or of Sinne: A man woulde thinke they hadde theim of Nature. But shall I tell you at a worde, wee make that filthye by oure owne Imagination, whiche of the owne nature is good and Godlye. Or elles if we will examine matters, (not accordinge to the opinion of menne, but weye them as they are of their owne Nature) howe chaunceth it that we thincke it lesse filthye, to eate, to chewe, to digest, to emptye the bodye, and to slepe, then it is to vse carnall copulation, such as is lawfull, and permitted. Naye sir (you will saye,) we muste folowe vertue, rather then Nature. A gentle dishe. As thoughe anye thinge can be called vertue that is contrary vnto Nature. Assuredly there is nothinge that can be perfectlye gote, either throughe laboure, or throughe learning, if man grounde not his doynges altogether vpon Nature.

But you will liue an Apostles life, suche as some of them did that liued single, and exhorted other to the same kinde of life. Tushe, let them folowe the Apostles that are Apostles in deede, whose office seynge it is bothe to teache and bringe vp the people in Goddes doctrine, they are not able to discharge their dutyes bothe to their flocke, and to their wife and familye. Althoughe it is well knowen that some of the Apostles had wiues. But beit that Bishoppes liue single, or graunt we them to haue no wiues. What do you folowe the profession of the Apostles, beynge one that

is

ts farthest in life from their Vocation, beinge bothe a temporall manne, and one that liueth of youre owne. They hadde this Pardon graunted them to be cleane voyde from Mariage, to the ende they mighte be at leasure to get vnto Christe a more plentifull number of his children. Let this be the order of Priestes and Monkes, who belike haue entred into the Religion and rule of the Essens, (suche as amonge the Iewes lothed Mariage) but youre callinge is an other waye. Naye, but (you will saye) Christe him selfe hath compted theim blessed, whiche haue gelded theim selues for the Kingdome of GOD. Sir, I am contente to admitte the authoritie, but thus I expounde the meaning. Firste, I thincke that this doctrine of Christe did chiefly belonge vnto that time, when it behoued theim chiefly to be voyde of all cares and busines of this World. They were fayne to trauayle into all places, for the persecutoures were euer readye to laye handes on theim. Vnt nowe the worlde is so, that a manne can finde in no place the vprightnes of behauioure lesse stayned, then emonge maried folke. Let the swarmes of Monkes and Nunnes sette forthe their order neuer so muche, let theim boaste and bragge their bealies full, of their Ceremonies and church seruice, wherin they chiefly passe all other: yet is wedlocke (beynge well and truly kepte) a moste holye kinde of life. Againe, would to God they were gelded in very dede, whatsoeuer they be, that coloure their noughtye liuinge wyth such a iolye name of geldinge, liuing in muche more filthye luste vnder the cloke and pretence of chastitie. Neither can I reporte for verye shame, into howe filthye offences they do often fall, that will not vse that remedye whiche Nature hath graunted vnto manne. And last of all, where do you reade that euer Christe commaunded anye manne to liue single, and yet he dothe openlye forbidde diuorcement. Then he dothe not worste of all (in my Iudgemente) for the commune weale of Mankinde, that graunteth libertye vnto Priestes: yea, and Monkes also (if neade be) to mary, and to take them to their wiues, namely seing there is suche

Priestes mariage.

an vnreasonable number euerye where, emonge whom I praye you how many be there that liue chaste. How muche better were it to turne their concubines into wyues, that where as they haue them now to their greate shame wyth an vnquiet conscience, they mighte haue the other openlye with good report, and get children, and also bringe them vp godlye, of whom they them selues not onelye mighte not be ashamed, but also might be counted honest men for them. And I thinke the bishoppes officers woulde haue procured this matter longe agoe, if they had not founde greater gaines by priestes lemmans, thē they were like to haue by priestes wiues. But virginitie forsothe is an heauenlye thing, it is an Aungels life. I aunswer, wedlocke is a manly thinge, suche as is mete for man. And I talke now as man vnto man. I graunte you, that virginitie is a thinge prayse worthy, but so farre I am cōtent to speake in praise of it, if it be not so praised, as though the iust shuld altogether folow it, for if men cōmenly should begin to like it, what thing could be inuented more perilous to a commune weale then virginitie. Nowe be it that other deserue greate prayse for their maydenheade, you notwithstandinge can not wante greate rebuke, seynge it lieth in your handes to kepe that house frō decaye wherof you lineallye descended, and to continue still the name of your auncesters, who deserue moste worthely to be knowen for euer. And laste of all, he deserueth as muche prayse, as they whiche kepe their maydenhode: that kepes him selfe true to his wife, and marieth rather for encrease of children, then to satisfy his luste For if a brother be commaunded to stirre vp sede to his brother that dieth without issue, will you suffer the hope of all youre stocke to decaye, namely seinge there is none other of your name and stocke, but your selfe alone, to continue the posteritie. I know wel inoughe, that the auncient fathers haue set forthe in greate volumes, the prayse of virginitie, emonge whom, Hierome dothe so take on, and prayseth it so much aboue the starres, that he fell in maner to depraue Matrimonie, and therfore was required of Godly Bishoppes to cal backe his wordes that he had spoken. But let vs beare with suche heate for

Virginitie.

Hieroms praise vpon Virginitie.

that

that tyme sake, I would wishe nowe, that thei, whiche exhort yong folke euery where, and without respect (suche as yet knowe not thēselfes) to liue a single life, and to professe virginitie: that thei would bestowe thesame labour, in settyng furth the description of chast and pure wedlocke. And yet those bodies that are in suche great loue with virginitie, are well contented that menne should fight against the Turkes, whiche in nomber are infinitely greater then wee are. And now if these menne thinke right in this behalfe, it must nedes be thought right good and godly, to labour earnestly for childzen gettyng, and to substitute youthe from tyme to tyme, for the maintenaunce of warre. Except paraventure thei thinke that Gunnes, Billes, Bikes, and nauies, should be prouided for battaill, and that men stand in no stede at all with them. Thei also allowe it well, that we should kill miscreaunt and Heathen parentes, that the rather their childzen not knowyng of it, might bee Baptized and made Christians. Nowe if this bee righte and lawfull, how muche more ientleneſſe were it to haue childzen Baptized, beyng borne in lawfull mariage. There is no nacion so sauage, nor yet so hard harted, within the whole worlde, but thesame abhorreth murderyng of infauntes, and newe borne babes. Kynges also and hedde rulers, dooe likewise punishe moste streightly, all suche as seke meanes to be deliuered before their tyme, or vse Phisicke to ware barren, and neuer to beare childrē. What is thereason? Marie thei compt small difference betwixt hym, that killeth the child, so sone as it beginneth to quicken: and thother, that seketh all meanes possible, neuer to haue any child at all. The selfe same thyng that either withereth and drieth awaie in thy body, or els putrifieth within thee, and so hurteth greatly thy healthe, yea, that selfe same, whiche falleth from thee in thy slepe, would haue been a manne, if thou thy selfe haddest been a man. The Hebrues abhorre that man, and wishe him Goddes curse, that (beyng commaunded to marie with the wife of his dedde brother) did cast his seede vpon the groūd least any issue should bee had, and he was euer thought vnworthy to liue here vpon yerth, that would not suffer that Hebrues.

that child to liue, whiche was quicke in the mothers wõbe. But I praie you how litle do thei swarue from this offence whiche bynd themselfes to liue barren, all the daies of their life? Doo thei not seme to kill as many men, as were like to haue been borne, if thei had bestowed their endeuors to haue got children? Now I praie you, if a man had lande that wer very fatte and fertile, and suffered the same for lacke of manerying, for euer to ware barren, should he not, or wer he not worthy to be punished by the lawes, considerying it is for the cõmon weales behoue, that euery man should wel and truly husbande his awne. If that mã be punished, who litle hedeth the maintenaunce of his Tillage, the whiche although it be neuer so wel manered, yet it yeldeth nothyng els but wheat barley, beanes, and pease: what punishement is he worthy to suffer, that refuseth to Plough that lande, whiche beyng tilled, yeldeth childrẽ. And for ploughyng land, it is nothyng els, but painfull toylyng from tyme to tyme, but in gettyng children, there is pleasure, whiche beyng ordeined, as a redy reward for paines takyng, asketh a short trauaill for all the tillage. Therfore if the workyng of nature, if honestie, if vertue, if inwarde zeale, if Godlinesse, if duetie maie moue you, why can you not abide that, whiche God hath ordeined, nature hath established, reason doeth counsaill, Gods worde and mannes worde do commende, all lawes do commaunde, the consent of all nacions doeth allowe, whereunto also the example of all good men, doth exhort you. That if euery honest man should desire many thynges, that are moste painful for none other cause, but onely for that thei are honeste, no doubt but matrimonie ought aboue all other, moste of all to be desired, as the whiche wee maie doubte, whether it haue more honestie in it, or bryng more delite and pleasure with it. for what can bee more pleasaunt, then to liue with her, with whom not onely you shalbe ioyned, in felowship of faithfulnes, and moste hartie good will, but also you shalbe coupled together moste assuredly, with the cõpany of bothe your bodies? If we compt that great pleasure, whiche we receiue of the good will of our frendes and acquaintaunce, how pleasaunt a thyng is it aboue all other, to haue one, with whom

you

you maie breake the botome of your harte, with whō ye maie talke as freely, as with your self, into whose truste, you maie lawfly cōmit your self, suche a one as thinketh al your goodes to be her charge. Now what an heauenly bisse (trow you) is the companie of man and wife together, seyng that in all the worlde, there can nothyng be found, either of greater weight and worthinesse, or els of more strengthe and assuraunce. For with frendes, we ioyne onely with them in good will, & faithfulnesse of mynde, but with a wife, we are matched together, bothe in harte and mynde, in body and soule, sealed together with the bonde and league of an holy Sacrament, & partyng all the goodes we haue, indifferently betwixt vs. Again whē other are matched together in frendship, do we not see what dissemblyng thei vse, what falshode thei practise, and what deceiptfull partes thei plaie? Yea, euen those whō we thinke to be our most assured frendes, as swallowes flie awaie whē sommer is past, so thei hide their heddes, whē fortune gynnes to faile. And oft tymes when we get a newe frend, we streight forsake our old. We heare tell of very fewe, that haue continued frendes, euen till their last ende. Whereas the faithfulnesse of a wife, is not stained with deceipte, nor dusked with any dissēblyng, nor yet parted with any chaūge of the world but disseuered at last by death onely, no not by death neither. She forsakes and settes light by father and mother, sister & brother for your sake, and for your loue onely. She only passeth vpon you, she puttes her trust in you, and leaneth wholy vpon you, yea, she desires to die with you. Haue you any worldly substaūce? you haue one that will maintain it, you haue one that will encrease it. Haue you none? you haue a wife that will get it. If you liue in prosperitee, your ioye is doubled: if the worlde go not w̄ you, you haue a wife to put you in good comfort, to be at your commaundemēt, & redy to serue your desire, & to wishe that suche euill as hath happened vnto you, might chaūce vnto her self. And do you thinke that any pleasure in al the world, is able to be cōpared with suche a goodly felowship & familier liuyng together? If you kepe home, your wife is at hand to kepe your cōpany, the rather that you might fele no werines of liuing al alone, if you

ride furth, you haue a wife to bid you fare well with a kisse longyng muche for you, beyng from home, and glad to bidde you well come at your next returne. A swete mate in your youthe, a thankfull comforte in your age. Euery societie or companiyng together, is delitefull and wisshed for by nature of all menne, forasmuche as nature hath ordeined vs to be, sociable, frendly, and louyng together. Nowe howe can this felowshyp of manne and wife, be otherwise then moste pleasant, where all thynges are common together betwixt them bothe. Now I thinke he is moste worthy, to bee despised aboue all other, that is borne, as a man would saie for hymselfe, that liueth to hymselfe, that seketh for himselfe, that spareth for himselfe, maketh cost onely vpon himselfe, that loueth no man, and no man loueth hym. Would not a manne thinke that suche a monster, were mete to be casste out of all mennes companie (with Tymon that careth for no manne) into the middest of the sea. Neither do I here vtter vnto you those pleasures of the body, the which, wheras nature hath made to be moste pleasaunt vnto man, yet these greate witted men, rather hide them, and dissemble them (I cannot tel how) then vtterly contempne them. And yet what is he that is so lower of witte, and so drowpyng of braine (I will not saie) blockhedded, or insensate, that is not moued with suche pleasure, namely if he maie haue his desire, without offence either of God or man, and without hynderaunce of his estimacion. Truely I would take suche a one, not to be a man, but rather to bee a very stone. Although this pleasure of the body, is the least parte of all those good thynges, that are in wedlocke. But bee it that you passe not vpon this pleasure, and thinke it vnworthy for man to vse it, although in deede we deserue not the name of manne without it, but compte it emong the least and vttermoste profites, that wedlocke hath: Now I praie you, what can be more hartely desired, then chaste loue, what can bee more holy, what can bee more honest? And emong all these pleasures, you get vnto you a holy sort of kinsfolke, in whom you maie take muche delite. You haue other parentes, other brethren, sisterne, and nephewes. Nature in deede can geue you but one father, & one mother

Timon a deadly hater of all companie.

mother: By mariage you get vnto you another father, and another mother, who cannot chuse, but loue you with all their hartes, as the whiche haue put into your handes, their awne fleshe and bloud. Now again, what a ioye shal this be vnto you, when your moste faire wife, shall make you a father, in bringyng furthe a faire childe vnto you, where you shall haue a pretie litle boye, rumpyng vp and doune youre house, suche a one as shall expresse your looke, and your wiues looke, suche a one as shall call you dad, with his swete lispyng wordes. Now last of all, when you are thus lynked in loue, thesame shalbee so fastened and bounde together, as though it wer with the Adamant stone, that death it self cã neuer be able to vndo it. Thrise happie are thei (q Horace) yea, more then thrise happie are thei, whom these sure bandes dooe holde, neither though thei are by euill reporters, full ofte sette a sonder, shall loue be vnlosed betwixt theim two, till death them bothe depart. You haue them that shal comforte you, in your latter daies, that shall close vp your ies, when God shall call you, that shall bury you, and fulfill all thynges belongyng to your Funerall, by whom you shall seme, to bee newe borne. For so long as thei shall liue, you shall nede neuer bee thought ded your self. The goodes and landes that you haue gotte, go not to other heires, then to your awne. So that vnto suche as haue fulfilled all thynges, that belong vnto mannes life, death it self cannot seme bitter. Old age cometh vpon vs all, will we, or nill we, and this waie nature prouided for vs, that we should waxe yong again in our children, and nephewes. For, what man can be greued, that he is old, when he seeth his awne countenaũce whiche he had beyng a childe, to appere liuely in his sonne? Death is ordeined for all mankynd, and yet by this meanes onely, nature by her prouidence, myndeth vnto vs a certain immortalitie, while she encreaseth one thyng vpon another euen as a yong graffe buddeth out, when the old tree is cut doune. Neither can he seme to dye, that, when God calleth hym, leaueth a yong child behinde hym. But I knowe well enough, what you saie to your self, al this while of my lõg talke. Mariage is an happie thyng, if all thynges hap well,

what and if one haue a curste wife? What if she be lighte? What if his children bee vngracious? Thus I see you will remember all such men, as by mariage haue been vndoen. Well, go to it, tell as many as you can, & spare not: you shal finde all these were the faultes of the persones, and not the faultes of Mariage. For beleue me, none haue euill wifes, but suche as are euill mē. And as for you sir, you may chuse a good wife, if ye list. But what if she be croked, and marde altogether, for lacke of good ordering. A good honest wife, maie be made an euill woman, by a naughtie husbande, and an euill wife, hath been made a good woman, by an honest man. We crie out of wifes vntruly, and accuse them without cause. There is no man (if you wil beleue me) that euer had an euil wife, but through his awne default. Now again an honest father, bringeth furthe honest children, like vnto hymselfe. Although euen these children, how so euer thei are borne, commonly become suche men, as their education and bringing vp is. And as for iealousy you shal not nede to feare that fault at all. For none be troubled with suche a disease, but those onely that are foolishe louers. Chaste, godly, and lawfull loue, neuer knew what iealousie ment. What meane you to call to your mynde, and remember suche sore tragedies and doulefull dealynges, as haue been betwixt manne and wife. Suche a woman beyng naughte of her body, hath caused her husbande to lose his hedde, another hath poysoned her goodmā, the third with her churlishe dealyng (whiche her husbande could not beare) hath been his outer vndoyng, & brought hym to his ende. But I praie you sir, why doo you not rather thinke vpon Cornelia, wife vnto Tiberius Gracchus? Why do ye not mynde that moste worthy wife, of that most vnworthy man Alcestes? Why remembre ye not Iulia Pompeyes wife, or Porcia Brutus wife? And why not Artemisia, a woman moste worthie, euer to bee remembred? Why not Hipsicratea, wife vnto Mithridates kyng of Pontus? Why do ye not call to remembraunce the gentle nature of Tertia Aemilia? Why doo ye not consider the faithfulnesse of Turia? Why cometh not Lucretia and Lentula to your remēbraūce? and why not Arria? why not

Euill wifes happen to euil men onely.

Iealousie vnknowen to wise men.

Cornelia.

Alcestes wife.

Iulia.

Porcia.

Artemisia.

Hipsicratea.

tertia Aemilia

Turia.

Lucretia.

Lentula.

Arria.

thousandes

thoulandes other, whose chastite of life, and faithfulnes towardes their husbandes could not bee chaunged, no not by death. A good woman (you will saie) is a rare birde, & hard to be founde in all the worlde. Well then sir, imagine your self worthy to haue a rare wife, suche as fewe men haue. A good woman (saith the wiseman) is a good porcion. Be you bold to hope for such a one, as is worthy your maners. The chiefest poynte standeth in this, what maner of woman you chuse, how you vse her, and how you order your self towardes her. But libertee (you will saie) is muche more pleasaunt: for, who soeuer is maried, wereth fetters vpon his legges, or rather carieth a clogge, the whiche he can neuer shake of, till death part their yoke. To this I answere, I cā not see what pleasure a man shall haue to liue alone. For if libertie be delitefull, I would thinke you should get a mate vnto you, with whō you should parte stakes, and make her priuey of all your ioyes. Neither can I see any thyng more free, then is the seruitude of these twoo, where the one is so muche beholdyng and bounde to thother, that neither of thē bothe wold be louse, though thei might. You are boūd vnto him, whō you receiue into your frendship: But in mariage neither partie findeth fault, that their libertie is take awaie from them. Yet ones again your are sore afraied, least when your childrē are taken awaie by death, you fal to mourning for wāt of issue. well sir, if you feare lacke of issue, you must marie a wife for the self same purpose, the which onely shal be a meane, that you shall not want issue. But what do you serche so diligently, naie so carefully, al the incōmodities of matrimonie, as though single life had neuer any incōmoditie ioyned w̄ it at al. As though there wer any kinde of life in al the world, that is not subiect to al euils that may happē. He must nedes go out of this world, y̆ lokes to liue w̄out felyng of any grief. And in cōparison of y̆ life which y̆ saintes of god shal haue in heauē, this life of mā is to be cōpted a deth, & not a life. But if you cōsider thinges within the cōpasse of mankynde, there is nothyng either more sauke, more quiet, more pleasaunt, more to be desired, or more happy, then is the maried mānes life. How many do you se, that haueng-

Prouer.x.

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ones felt the ſwetneſſe of wedlocke, doeth not deſire eftſones to enter into theſame? My frende Mauricius, whō you knowe to be a very wiſe man, did not he, the nexte moneth after his wife died (whom he loued derely) get hym ſtreight a newe wife? Not that he was impacient of his luſte, and could not forbeare any longer, but he ſaid plainly, it was no life for hym, to bee without a wife, whiche ſhould bee with hym as his yoke felowe, and companion in all thynges. And is not this the fourthe wife, that our frende Iouius hath maried? And yet he ſo loued the other, whē thei wer on liue that none was able to comforte hym in his heauineſſe: and now he haſtened ſo muche (when one was ded) to fill vp and ſupply the voyde roume of his chamber, as though he had loued the other very litle. But what do we talke ſo muche of the honeſtie and pleaſure herein, ſeyng that not onely profite doeth aduiſe vs, but alſo nede doeth earneſtly force vs, to ſeke mariage. Let it bee forbidden, that man and woman ſhall not come together, & within fewe yeres, all mankynde muſt nedes decaye for euer. When Xerxes kyng of the Perſians, behelde from an high place, that greate armie of his, ſuche as almoſte was incredible, ſome ſaid he could not forbeare weppyng, conſideryng of ſo many thouſandes, there was not one like to bee a liue, within ſeuentie yeres after. Now why ſhould not we conſider theſame of all mankynd, whiche he meant onely of his armie. Take awaie mariage, and howe many ſhall remain after a hundreth yeres, of ſo many realmes, countrees, kyngdomes, citees, and all other aſſemblies that be of men, throughout the whole world? on now, praiſe we a gods name the ſingle life aboue the nocke, the whiche is like for euer to vndoo all mankynde. What plague, what infection can either heauen or hell, ſende more harmefull vnto mankynd? What greater euill is to be feared by any floud? What could be loked for, more ſorowfull, although the flame of Phaeton ſhould ſet the world on fire again? And yet by ſuche ſore tempeſtes, many thynges haue been ſaued harmeleſſe, but by the ſingle life of man, there cā be nothyng left at all. We ſe what a ſorte of diſeaſes, what diuerſitee of miſſchappes doo night and date lye in waite to

Necceſſitee enforceth mariage.

Xerxes.

leſſen

lessen the smal number of mankynde. Howe many doeth the plague destroie, how many do the Seas swallowe, how many doeth battaile snatche vp? For I will not speake of the daily dyeng that is in al places. Deathe taketh her flight euery where rounde about, she runneth ouer theim, she catcheth theim vp, she hasteneth alwaie as she can possible to destroie al mankynde, & now do we so highly cõmend syngle lyfe and eschewe Mariage? Except happely we like the profession of the Esseus (of whoome Josephus speaketh that they will neither haue wyfe, nor seruauntes) or the Vulopolitans, called otherwyse the Rascalles and Slaues of Cities, the whiche companie of theim is alwaie encreased and continued by a sorte of vagabounde peasauntes that continue, and be from time to time stil together. Do we loke that some Juppiter shoulde geue vs that same gifte, the whiche he is reported to haue geuen vnto Bees that wee shoulde haue issue without procreacion, and gather with our mouthes out of flowers, the seede of our posteritie? Or elles do we desier, that lyke as the Poetes feyne Minerua to be borne out of Juppiters head: in lyke sorte there should children leape out of our heades? Or last of al doe we looke according as the olde fables haue been, that men shoulde be borne out of the yerth, out of rockes, out of stockes, stones, & olde trees. Many thynges breede out of the yearth without mans labour at all. Young shrubbes growe and shoute vp vnder the shadowe of their graundsyre trees. But nature woulde haue man to vse this one waie of encreasyng issue, that through labour of bothe the housband and wyfe, mankynd might stil be kept from destruction. But I promise you if all men tooke after you, and still forbare to marie: I can not see but that these thynges whiche you wonder at, and esteme so muche, could not haue been at al. Do you yet esteme this syngle lyfe so greatly? Doe you praise so muche virginitie aboue al other? Why man, there will be neither syngle men, nor virgines a lyue, if men leaue to marie, and mynde not procreation. why do you thē preferre virginitie so muche why set you it so hye, if it be the vndoyng of all the whole worlde? It hath been muche commended, but it was for that

Essens hated Mariage.

Josephus vbiit cap. lib. ii.

tyme, and in a fewe. God woulde haue men to see as though it were a paterne, or rather a picture of that heauenly habitacion, where neither any shalbe maried, nor yet any shall geue theirs to Mariage. But when thynges be geuen for an example, a fewe may suffise, a nomber were to no purpose. For euen as al groundes though they be very frutefull, are not therefore turned into tillage for mans vse and commoditie, but parte lyeth fallowe, and is neuer mannered, parte is kepte and cherised to lyke the eye and for mans pleasure: and yet in al this plentie of thynges, where so great store of lande is, nature suffereth very litle to ware barren: But nowe if none should be tilled, and plowe men went to plaie, who seeth not but that wee shoulde al sterue, and bee faine shortely to eate acornes: Euen so, it is praise worthie if a fewe liue syngle, but if al should seke to lyue syngle, so many as be in this worlde, it were to great an inconuenience. Now again be it that other deserue worthie praise that seke to liue a virgines life, yet it must nedes be a great faulte in you. Other shalbe thought to seke a pureneſſe of lyfe, you shalbe coumpted a parricide, or a murtherer of your stocke: that whereas you may by honest mariage encrease your posteritie: you suffer it to decaie for euer, through your wilful single lyfe. A man may hauyng a house ful of children, commende one to God to lyue a virgine al his lyfe. The plowe man offereth to God the tenthes of his owne, and not his whole croppe al together: But you Sir, muste remember that there is none lefte aliue of al your stocke, but your self alone. And nowe it mattereth nothyng whether you kill, or refuse to saue that creature, which you onely might saue and that with ease. But you wil folow the example of your sister, and lyue syngle as she doth. And yet me thynketh you shoulde chefely euen for this selfe same cause, be afraied to lyue single. For whereas there was hope of issue heretofore in you bothe, nowe ye see there is no hope left but in you onely. Be it that your sister may be borne withal, because she is a woman, and because of her yeares, for she beyng but a girle and ouercome with sorow for losse of her mother toke the wrong way, she cast her selfe doune headlong, and be-

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came a Nunne at the earnest sute either of soliche women, or elles of doultiche Munkes: but you beyng muche elder, must euermore remember that you are a man. She woulde nedes dye together with her auncesters, you muste labour that your auncesters shal not dye at all. Your sister woulde not doe her dutie, but shranke away: thynke you nowe with your selfe that you haue .ij. offices to discharge. The daughters of Lothe neuer stuck at the matter to haue a doe with their dronken father, thinkyng it better with wicked whore dome and inceste to prouide for their posteritie, than to suffer their stocke to die for euer, and wil not you with honest, Godly, and chaist Mariage (whiche shalbe without trouble and turne to your greate pleasure) haue a regarde to your posteritie most like elles for euer to decaie? Therfore, let them on Goddes name folow the purpose of chaist Hippolitus, let them lyue a syngle life, that either can bee maried men, and yet can gette no children, or els suche, whose stocke may be continued by meanes of other their kynsfolke or at the least whose kyndred is suche that it were better for the commune weale, they were all deade, than that any of that name shoulde be a lyue, or elles suche men, as the euerliuyng God of his moste especiall goodnes hath chosen out of the whole worlde to execute some heauenly office, wherof there is a maruellouse smal nomber. But whereas you accordyng to the reporte of a Phisicion that neither is vnlearned, nor yet is any lyar, are lyke to haue many children hereafter, seeyng also you are a man of greate landes, and reuenues by your auncesters, the house whereof you came, beyng bothe right honourable and right auncient, so that you coulde not suffer it to perishe without youre great offence, and greate harme to the commune weale: againe seeyng you are of lustie yeares, and very comely for your personage, and may haue a maide to your wyfe suche a one as none of your countrie hath knowen any to bee more absolute for all thynges, commyng of as noble a house as any of theim, a chaiste one, a sobre one, a Godlie one, an excellent fayre one, hauyng with her a wonderfull Dowrie: seeyng also youre frendes desyre you,

Daughters of Loth.

The conclusion.

your kynsfolke wepe to wynne you, your Cosyns and alyaunce are earnest in hande with you, your countrie calles and cries vpon you: the asshes of your auncestors from their graues make harty sute vnto you, do you yet holde backe, do you stil mynde to lyue a syngle lyfe? If a thyng were asked you that were not halfe honest, or the whiche you could not wel compasse, yet at the instaunce of your frendes, or for the loue of your kynsfolke, you woulde be ouercome, and yelde to their requestes: Then howe muche more reasonable were it that the wepyng teares of your frendes, the hartie good wil of your countrie, the deare loue of your elders might wynne that thyng at your handes, vnto the whiche bothe the lawe of God and man doth exhorte you, nature pricketh you forwarde, reason leadeth you, honestie allureth you, so many commodities cal you, and last of all, necessitie it selfe doeth constraine you. But here an ende of al reasonyng. For I trust you haue now and a good while ago chaunged your mynde thorowe myne aduise, and taken your selfe to better counsell.

¶ Of Exhortation.

Exhortyng.

THe places of exhortyng and dehortyng, are the same whiche wee vse in perswadyng and dissuadyng, sayyng that he whiche vseth perswasion, seeketh by argumētes to compasse his deuise: he that labours to exhorte, doeth stirre affections.

Erasmus sheweth these to be the most especiall places that do perteine vnto exhortation.

- Praise, or Commendacion.
- Expectation of al men.
- Hope of victorie.
- Hope of renowme.
- Feare of shame.
- Greatnesse of rewarde.
- Rehersall of examples, in all ages, and especially of thynges lately doen.

Praisyng a deede.

PRaisyng is either of the man, or of some deede doen. We shall exhorte men to doe the thyng, if we showe them:

them that is a worthy attempte, a Godly enterprise, & suche as fewe men hetherto haue aduentured.

In praisyng a man, we shal exhorte hym to go forwarde, considerynge it agreeth with his wounted mãhode, and that hetherto he hath not slacked to hasarde boldely vpon the best and worthiest deedes, requirynge hym to make this ende answereable to his moste worthie begynnynges, that he maye ende with honour, whiche hath so long continued in suche renowme. For it were a foule shame to lose honour through folie, whiche hath been gotte through virtue, and to appere more slacke in keppng it, than he semed carefull at the first to atteine it. Praisyng a man, the rather to encourage him.

Againe whose name is renowmed, his doynges from time to tyme wil be thought more wonderfull, and greater promises wil men make vnto them selues of suche mens aduentures in any commune affaires, than of others, whose vertues are not yet knowne. A notable Master of fence is marueilouse to beholde, and men looke earnestly to see hym doe some wonder, howe muche more will they looke when they heare tel that a noble Captaine, & an aduenturouse Prince shal take vpon hym the defence, and sauegarde of his countrie against the ragyng attemptes of his enemies? Therfore a noble man can not but go forwarde with most earnest wil, seyng al men haue suche hope in hym, and count hym to bee their onely comforte, their fortresse, and defense. And the rather to encourage suche right worthie, we may put them in good hope to compasse their attempte, yf wee showe them that God is an assured guide vnto all those, that in an honest quarell aduenture them selues, and showe their manly stomake. Sathan hym selfe the greatest aduersarie that man hath, yeldeth lyke a captiue, when GOD dothe take our parte, muche sooner shal al other be subiecte vnto hym, and crye Peccaui. for if God be with hym, what matereth who be against hym? Expectation of al men. Hope of victorie.

Nowe when victorie is got, what honour doeth ensewe? here openeth a large fielde to speake of renowme, fame, and endles honour. In all ages the worthiest men haue alwaies aduentured their carcases for the sauegarde of their coun- Fame foloweth worthy feactes.

trie, thynkyng it better to dye with honor, than to liue with shame. Againe the ruine of our Realme shoulde put vs to more shame, than the losse of our bodies should turne vs to smarte. For our honestie beyng stained, the paine is endles, but our bodies beyng gored, either the wounde maie sone be healed, or elles our paine beyng sone ended, the glory endureth for euer.

Shame followeth fearfulnesse, when manhode is thought nedeful.

Lastely he that helpeth the nedelesse, defendeth his poore neighbours, & in the fauour of his countrie, bestoweth his lyfe: wil not God besides al these, place hym where he shall lyue for euer, especially seeyng he hath doen all these enterprises in faith and for Christes sake?

Heauen, the rewarde of hault Capitaignes.

Nowe in al ages to reckon suche as haue bene right souerayne, and victorious, what name gotte the worthie Scipio that withstood the rage of Annibal? what Brute hath Cesar for his most worthie cõquestes? what triũphe of glory doth sounde in al mennes eares vpon the onely nampng of mightie Alexander, and his father Kyng Philippe? And now to come home, what head cã expresse the renowmed Henry the fifte Kyng of Englande of that name after the conquest? What witte can sette out the wonderful wysedom of Henry the seuenth, and his greate foresight to espie mischiefe like to ensewe, and his politique deuises to escape daungers to subdewe rebelles, and mainteyne peace?

¶ Of mouyng pitie, and stirryng men to shewe mercie.

Mouyng of pitie.

Likewise we may exhorte men to take pitie of the fatherlesse, the widowe, and the oppressed innocent, if we set before their yes the lamentable afflictions the tyrannouse wronges, and the miserable calamities, whiche these poore wretches do susteine. For if fleshe and bloude moue vs to loue our children, our wyfes, and our kynsfolke: muche more shoulde the spirite of God and Christes goodnes towardes mã stirre vs to loue our neighbours moste entirely. These exhortacions the preachers of God may most aptely vse, when they open his Gospell to

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the people, and haue iuſt cauſe to ſpeake of ſuche matters.

¶ Of Commendyng.

IN commendyng a man, wee vſe the repoꝛte of his witte, honeſtie, faithfull ſeruice, painefull labour, and carefull nature to do his maiſters will, oꝛ any ſuche lyke, as in the Epiſtles of Tullie there are examples infinite. The maner of commendyng.

¶ Of Comfoꝛtyng.

NOw after al theſe, the weake would be comfoꝛted and the ſoꝛoufull woulde bee cheriſed that there griefe might bee aſwaged, and the paſſions of man bꝛought vnder the obedience of reaſon. The vſe heredf is great, aſwell in pꝛiuate troubles, as in commune miſeries. As in loſſe of gooddes, in lacke of frendes, in ſickneſ, in darthe, & in death. In all whiche loſſes, the wyſe vſe ſo to comfoꝛte the weake, that they geue them not iuſt cauſe euen at the firſte to refuſe all comfoꝛte. And therefoꝛe they vſe two waies of cherefhyng the troubled mindes. The one is when wee ſhowe that in ſome caſes and foꝛ ſome cauſes either they ſhoulde not lament at all, oꝛ elles bee ſoꝛy very litle: the other is when we graunt that they haue iuſt cauſe to bee ſadde, and therfoꝛe wee are ſad alſo in their behalfe, and woulde remedie the matter, if it coulde be, and thus enteryng into felowſhippe of ſoꝛowe, wee ſeeke by litle and litle to mitigate their griefe. Foꝛ all extreme heauineſſe, and vehement ſoꝛowes, cannot abyde comfoꝛte, but rather ſeeke a mourner that woulde take parte with theim. The maner of comfoꝛtyng. Comfoꝛtyng two waies vſed.

Therefoꝛe muche warꝛeneſſe ought to be vſed, when wee happen vpon ſuche excedyng ſoꝛowfull, leaſte wee rather purchace hatred, than aſwage griefe.

Thoſe harmes ſhoulde bee moderatly boꝛne, whiche muſte needes happen to euery one, that haue chaunced to any one. As deathe, whiche ſpareth none, neither Kyng, noꝛ Cayſer, neither pooꝛe, noꝛ riche. Therefoꝛe to bee impacient foꝛ the loſſe of our frendes, is to fall

out

out with God, because he made vs men, and not Aungelles. But the Godly (I truste) will alwaies remitte thorder of thynges to the wil of God, and force their passions to obey necessitie. When God lately visited this Realme with the sweatyng disease, and receiued the two worthie Gentlemen Henry Duke of Suffolke, & his brother Lorde Charles: I seeyng my Ladies grace their mother takyng their deathe most greauouslie could not otherwise for the duetie whiche I then did, and euer shall owe vnto her, but comforte her in that her heauinesse, the whiche vndoubtedly at that tyme muche weakened her bodie. And because it may serue for an example of comforte, I haue been boulde to set it forthe as it foloweth hereafter.

Sweatyng disease.

¶ An example of comforte.

THough myne enterprise maie be thought foolishe, and my doynges very slender in busiyng my braine to teache the expert, to gyue counsel to other when I lacke it my self, and wher as more neede were for me to be taught of other, to take vpon me to teache my betters, yet dutie bynding me to doe my beste, and emong a nomber though I can doe leaste, yet good will settyng me forthe with the foremest: I cannot choose but write what I am able, and speake what I can possible for the better comfortyng of your grace in this your great heauines, and sore visitacion sent from GOD, as a warnyng to vs all. The Phisician then deserueth moste thanke, when he practiseth his knowlege in tyme of necessitie, and then trauelleth moste painefullie, when he feeleth his paciente to be in moste daunger. The souldiour at that tyme, and at no tyme so muche is thought most trustie, when he showeth at a nede his faithfull harte, and in tyme of extreme daunger doeth vse, and bestowe his moste earnest labour. In the wealthe of this worlde what valiaunt man can wante assistence? What mightie Prince can misse any helpe to compasse his desire? Who lacketh men that lacketh no monie? But when God striketh the mightie with his strong hand, and displaceth those that

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were hygheiye placed, what one manne dothe once looke backe for the better easemente of his deare Brother, and Godlye comfortynge his euen Christian, in the chiefe of all his sorowe. All menne communelye more reioyce in the Sunne risynge, then they doe in the Sunne settinge. The hope of Lucre and expectation of priuate gayne, maketh manye one to bear oute a countenaunce of fauoure, whose herte is inwardelye fretted wyth deadlye rancoure. But suche Frendes, euen as prosperitye dothe gette theim, so aduersitye dothe trye theim. God is the searcher of euery mannes thought, vnto whose iudgemente I referre the assuraunce of my good wyll.

And thoughe I can do little, and therfore deserue as little thancke, as I loke for prayse (whyche is none at all) yet will I endeuoure earnestlye at all tymes, as well for mine owne discharge, to declare myduty, as at this present to say somewhat for the better easemente of youre grace, in thys youre heauines. The passions of the mynde haue diuers effectes, and therfore worke straungelye, accordynge to theyr properties. For like as ioye comforteth the harte, nourisheth bloude, and quickeneth the whole bodye: so heauinesse and care hinder digestion, engender euyll humoures, waste the principall partes, and wyth time consume the whole bodye. For the better knowledge hereof, and for a liuelye syght of the same, wee neade not to seeke farre for anye example, but euen to come strayghte vnto youre grace, whose bodye as I vnderstande credibiye, and partelye see my selfe, is sorer appayred within shorte tyme, your mynde so troubled, & youre harte so heauye, that you hate in a maner all lyght, you lyke not the sighte of anye thynge that myght be your comforte, but altogether stricken in a dumpe, you seke to be solitarye, detestinge all ioye, and delitynge in sorowe, wishynge wyth harte (if it were Goddes will) to make youre last ende. In whyche youre heauinesse, as I desire to be a comfortoure of youre grace, so I can not blame your naturall sorowe, if that nowe after declaration of the same, you woulde moderate all youre griefe hereafter, and call backe your penfiue wes, to the prescripte order of reason.

Passions worke diuerslye

And firste, for the better remedye of euerye diſeaſe, and troubled paſſion, it is beſte to knowe the principall cauſe, and chiefe occaſion of the ſame. Youre grace hadde two ſonnes, howe noble, howe wittye, howe learned, and how Godlye, manye thouſandes better knowe it, then anye one is able well to tell it. God at his pleaſure hath taken them bothe to his mercy, and placed them with him, which were ſurelye ouer good to tarye here with vs. They bothe dyed as youre grace knoweth verye younge, whiche by courſe of Nature, and by mannes eſtimation, mighte haue liued muche longer. They bothe were togethere in one houſe, lodged in two ſeuerall chambers, and almoſte at one time bothe ſickened, and both departed. They died bothe dukes, bothe well learned, bothe wiſe, and bothe right Godlye. They bothe before gaue ſtraunge tokens of death to come. The elder ſittinge at Supper, and verye merye, ſaide ſoudainlye to that ryghte honeſte Matrone, and Godly aged gentilwoman, that moſt faythful & longe aſſured ſeruaunt of yours, whoſe life God graunte longe to continue: Oh Lorde, where ſhall we ſuppe to morowe at night, whereupon ſhe beinge troubled, and yet ſaiynge comfortablye, I truſte my lorde, either here, or elles where at ſome of your frendes houſes: Naye (quod he) we ſhall neuer ſuppe togethere againe in this worlde, be you well aſſured, and with that ſeinge the gentilwoman diſcomforted, turned it vnto mirthe, and paſſed the reſte of his Supper with much ioye, and the ſame night after. xij. of the clocke, beynge the. xiiij. of Julye ſickened, and ſo was taken the nexte morning aboute. vij. of the clocke, to the mercye of God, in the yeare of our Lorde. M. D. Li. When the elder was gone, the younger woulde not tarye, but tolde before (hauinge no knowledge therof by anye bodye liuinge) of his brothers Deathe, to the greate wonderinge of all that were there, declaringe what it was to loſe ſo deare a frende, but comfortinge him ſelfe in that paſſion, ſaide: well, my brother is gone, but it maketh no matter, for I will go ſtraight after him, and ſo did within the ſpace of halfe an houre, as youre grace can beſt tell, whiche was there preſente. Nowe

I renue these wordes to youre graces knowledge, that you might the more stedfastlie consider their time to be then appointed of GOD to forsake this euill worlde, and to liue with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the Kingedome of heauen. But wherfore did God take two suche awaye, and at that time? Surelye to tell the principall cause, we maye by all likenes affirme, that they were taken awaye from vs for our wretched sinnes, and mooste vile naughtines of life, that therby we beinge warned, might be as readie for God, as they nowe presentlie were, and amend our liues in time, whom God will call, what time we knowe not. Then as I can see, we haue small cause to lament the lacke of them, whiche are in suche blessed state, but rather to amende our owne liuinge, to forthinke vs of oure offences, and to wishe of GOD to purge oure hartes, from all filthines and vngodlie dealinge, that we maie be (as they nowe be) blessed with God for euer. Notwithstandinge the worckes of God are vnsearcheable, without the compasse of mannes braine precisely to comprehende the verie cause, sauinge that this perswasion oughte surelye to be grounded in vs, euermore to thinke that God is offended with sinne, and that he punisheth offences to the thirde and fourthe generation of all them that breake his commaundementes, beinge iuste in all his worckes, and doinge all thinges for the beste. And therfore when God plagueth in suche sorte, I would wish that our faithe might alwaies be staied vpon the admiration of Goddes glorie, throughoute all his doinges, in whom is none euil, neither yet was there euer any guile found. And I doubt not but your grace is thus affected, and vnfaynedlye confessinge your owne offences, taketh this scourge to come from God as a iuste punishmente of Sinne, for the amendemente not onelye of your owne selfe, but also for the amendemente of all other in generall. The lamentable voyce of the poore (whiche is the mouthe of God) throughout the whole Realme declares full well the wickednes of this life, and showes plainelye that this euill is more generallye felte, then anye man is able by worde, or by writinge at full to set forthe.

The cause why God taketh awai the moste worthiest.

When God therfore that is Lord, not onelye of the riche but also of the poore, seeth his grounde spoyled froume the holesome profite of manye, to the vayne pleasure of a fewe, and the earthe made priuate to suffise the luste of vnsaciable couetousnesse, and that those whiche be his true membres cannot liue for the intollerable oppression, the soore enhaunsynge, and the mooste wicked grasing of those throughout the whole Realme, whiche otherwise myght well lyue with the onelye value and summe of their landes and yerelye reuenues: he striketh in his anger the innocentes and tẽder yonglinges, to plague vs with the lacke of them, whose innocencye and Godlines of life mighte haue bene a iuste example for vs to amende our mooste euill doynges. In whiche wonderfull worcke of God, when he receiued these two mooste noble ympes, and his chyldren elected to the euerlastinge Kingedome, I can not but magnifye his mooste glorious name, from time to tyme, that hath so graciouslye preserued these two worthy gentilmenne from the daunger of further euil, and mooste vile wretchednes, mooste like righte shortelye to ensue, excepte wee all repente, and forthincke vs of oure former euill liuynge. And yet I speake not this, as thoughe I knewe anye cryme to be more in you, then in anye other: but I tell it to the shame of all those vniuersallye within this Realme, that are gyltye of suche offences, whose inward consciences condempne their owne doinges, and their open deedes beare witnes against their euil nature. For it is not one house that shal feele the fall of these two prynces, neither hath God taken them for one priuate personnes offence: but for the wickednes of the whole Realme, whyche is lyke to feele the smarte, excepte God be merciful vnto vs. But now that they be gone, thoughe the flesshe be fraple, weake, & tender, and muste neades smart, being woũded or cut: yet I doubt not but your grace lackinge two suche porcions of your owne flesshe, and hauinge them (as a manne would saye) cutte awaye froume youre owne bodye, will suffer the smarte with a good stomake, and remembre that sorowe is but an euil remedye to heale a sore. For if your hande were detrenched, or youre

Wher necessitie ruleth, sorow is nedeles

bodie

bodie maimed with some soudaine stroake, what profite were it for you to wepe vpon your wounde, and when the harme is done, to lamente still the sore? seinge that with wepinge it will not be lesse, and maye yet throughe weping full sone be made more. For the sore is encreased, when sorowe is added, and the paine is made double, whiche before was but single. A constante christian shoulde beare all miserie, and with pacience abide the force of necessitie, shewinge with sufferaunce the strengthe of his faithe, and especiallie when the chaunge is from euyll to good, from woe to weale, what folye is it to sorowe that, for the whiche they ioye that are departed? They haue taken nowe their rest, that liued here in trauaile: they haue forsaken their bodies, wherin they were bounde, to receiue the spirite, whereby they are free. They haue chosen for sickenes, healthe: for earth, heauen: for life transitorie, life immortall: and for manne, God: then the whiche, what can they haue more? Or howe is it possible they can be better? Undoubtedly if euer they were happye, they are nowe moste happie: if euer they were well, they are nowe in beste case, beynge deliuered frome this presente euyll worlde, and exempted from Sathan, to lyue for euer with Christe our Sauioure.

Then what meane we that not onelye lamente the want of other, but also desire to tarye here oure selues, hopinge for a shorte, vayne, and therewith a paynefull pleasure, and refusynge to enioye that continuall, perfecte, and heauenlye enheritaunce, the whiche so soone shal happen vnto vs, as Nature dissolueth this Earthlye bodye. Truthe it is wee are more fleshelye then spirituall, soner fealynge the ache of our bodye, then the griefe of oure Soule: more studious with care to be healthfull in carkasse, then sekynge with prayer to be pure in Spirite. And therfore if oure frendes be stayned with Synne, wee dooe not, or we wyll not espye their sore, we counte theim faulteles, when they are mooste wicked: neither sekinge the redresse of their euyll doynge, nor yet once amendynge the faultes of oure owne liuynge.

The folye of such as sorow the want of their frendes.

But when oure frende departeth this worlde, and then forsaketh vs when Synne forsaketh him: wee begynne to shewe oure fleshelye natures, we wepe, and we wayle, and with longe sorowe without discretion declare our wante of Goddes grace, and all goodnes. For wheras we see that as some be borne, some do dye also, menne, women, and children, and not one houre certaine to vs of all oute life, yet we neuer mourne, we neuer wepe, neither markynge the deathe of suche as we knowe, nor regardynge the cupll lyfe of those whom we loue. But when suche departe as were either nighefte of oure kynred, or elles mooste oure frendes, then wee lamente withoute all comforte, not the synnes of their Soules, but the chaunge of their bodyes, leauinge to doe that whiche we shoulde, and doynge that onelye whyche we shoulde not do at all. Wherin not onelye we declare muche wante of Faythe, but also we shewe greate lacke of wytte. For as the other are gone before, either to heauen or elles to hell: so shall oure frendes and kinsfolke folowe after. We are all made of one metall, and ordeyned to dye, some maner as liue. Therfore what folye is it in vs, or rather what fleshelye madnesse immoderatelye to wayle their death whom God hathe ordeyned to make their ende, excepte wee lamente the lacke of oure owne liuinge? For euen as well we myghte at their firste byrthe bewayle their Natiuitye, considerynge they must nedes dye, because they are borne to lyue. And whatsoeuer hath a beginnynge, the same hath also an endynge, and the ende is not at oure will whiche desire continuaunce of life, but at hys wyll whyche gaue the begynnynge of lyfe. Nowe then, seynge God hath ordeyned all to dye, accordynge to his appointed wil, what meane they that woulde haue theirs to lyue? Shall God alter his fyxt purpose for the onelye satisfiynge of oure folyshe pleasure? And where God hathe mynded that the whole worlde shall decaye, shall anye man desyre that anye one houle may stande? In my mynde, there can be no greater comforte to anye one liuynge for the lacke of his frende, then to thinke that thys happened to him, whyche all other eyther haue felte, or elles shall feele hereafter: And that God the rather made Deathe

Deathe commune to all.

com:

commune to all, that the vniuersall plague and egalnes to all, myght abate the fiercenes of deathe, and comfore vs in the crueltie of the same, considerynge no one man hath an ende, but that all shall haue the lyke, and dye we muste euerye mothers sonne of vs, at one time or other. But you will saye: my chyldren might haue liued longer, they dyed younge. Sure it is by mannes estimation they myght haue liued longer, but had it bene best for them thincke you to haue continued styll in this wretched worlde, where Vyce beareth rule, and Vertue is subdued, where GOD is neglected, his lawes not obserued, his worde abused, and his Prophetes that preache the iudgemente of God almost euery where contemned. If your children were aliue, & by thaduice of some wicked person were brought to a brothell house, where entisinge harlottes liued, and so were in daũger to commit that fowle sinne of whoredome, and so, ledde from one wickednes to another: I am assured your grace woulde call them backe with laboure, and would with exhortations induce theim to the feare of God, and vtter detestation of al synne, as you haue ful often heretofore done, rather fearing euil to come, then knowing any open faulte to be in either of them. Nowe then, seynge God hath done the same for you him selfe, that you woulde haue done for them if they hadde liued, that is, in deliuerynge them bothe from this present euil worlde, whiche I counte none other then a brothel house, and a life of al noughtines: you ought to thanke God highlye, that he hath taken awaye your two sonnes, euen in their youthe, beynge innocentes bothe for their liuynge, and of such expectation for their towardnes, that almoste it were not possible for them hereafter to satisfye the hope in their age, whyche all menne presently hadde conceyued of their youthe. It is thought, and in dede it is no lesse thẽ a great poynct of happines to dye happely. Now when coulde youre two noble gentilmen haue dyed better then when they were at the best, mooste Godlye in manye thynges, offendinge in fewe, beloued of the honeste, and hated of none, (if euer they were hated) but of suche as hate the best. As in deede, noble vertue neuer wanted cankarde

Euil, to liue emonge the euil.

To dye happelye is great happines.

enuy to folow her. And considering that this life is so wretched, that the beste are euer most hated, & the vilest alwayes most esteemed, and your .ii. soules of the other side beynge in that state of honestie, & trained in that pathe of Godlines (as I am able to b- a liuely witnes, none hath ben like these many yeres, or at the lest, none better brought vp) what thinke you of god, did he enuye them, or els did he prouidently forsee vnto them bothe, when he toke them bothe from vs. Assuredly whom god loueth best, those he taketh soonest, according to the saiyng of Salomon: The righteous man (meaninge Enoch and other the chosen of God) is sodainely taken away, to the entente that wickednes shoulde not alter his vnderstandinge, and that hypocrisie should not begile his soul. For the craftie bewitching of lies, make good thinges darke, the vnstedfastnes also and wickednes of voluptuouse desire, turne aside the vnderstanding of the simple. And thoughe the righteous was sone gone, yet fulfilled he much time, for his soule pleased God, and therfore hasted he to take him away from amonge the wicked. Yea, the good men of god in al ages, haue euer had an earnest desire to be dissolued. My soule (quod Dauid) hath an earnest desire to enter into the courtes of the lord. Yea, like as the herte desireth the water brookes, so longeth my soule after the O God. My soule is a thyrst for God: yea, euen for the liuing God, when shall I come to appeare before the presence of God? Paule and al the Apostles wished and longed for the daye of the Lord, and thought euery daye a thousand yere, till their soules were parted from their bodies. The what should we waile them which are in that place where we al should wish to be, and seke so to liue, that we might be ready whē it shal please god of his goodnes to cal vs to his mercy. Let vs be sicke for our owne sinnes, & liue here on earth, & reioyce in their most happy passage that are gone to heaue. They haue not left vs, but gone before vs to enherite with Christ, their kingdom prepared. And what shuld this greue your grace that they are gone before, cōsidering our whole lyfe is nothing els but the righte waye to death. Shoulde it trouble any one & his frend is come to his iournies end?

Wisd. iiii.

Psal. lxxxiiii.

Psal. xlii.

Life, the right way to death.

Our

Our life is nothyng els, but a continuall trauaill, & death obtaineth rest after all our labour. Emong men that trauaill by the high waie, he is best at ease (in my mynde) that soonest cometh to his iourneis ende. Therfore, if your grace loued your children (as I am wel assured you did) you must reioyce in their rest, and geue God hartie thankes, that thei are come so sone to their iourneis ende. Marie, if it were so that man might escape the daunger of death, and liue euer, it were another matter: but because we must all dye, either first or last, and of nothyng so sure in this life, as we are all sure to dye at length, and nothyng more vncertain vnto mã then the certain tyme of euery mannes latter tyme: what forceth when wee dye, either this daie, or to morowe, either this yere, or the next, sauyng that I thinke them moste happie that die soonest, and death frendely to none so muche, as to theim whom she taketh soonest. At the tyme of an execucio doen for greuous offences, what mattereth who dye firste, when a dosen are condempned together, by a lawe, considering thei muste all dye one and other. I saie still, happie are thei, that are soonest ridde out of this worlde, and the soner gone, the soner blessed. The Thracians lament greatly at the birthe of their children, & reioyce muche at the burial of their bodies, beyng well assured that this world is nothyng els but miserie, & the worlde to come, ioye for euer. Now a gain, the child newe borne, partly declareth the state of this life, who beginneth his tyme with wailyng, & firste sheweth teares, before he can iudge the cause of his wo. If we beleue the promises of God, if we hope for the generall resurrecci on, and constantly affirme, that God is iust in all his woorkes: we cãnot but ioyfully saie, with the iust man Job: The lorde gaue them, the lorde hath taken them again, as it pleaseth God, so maie it be, and blessed be the name of the lorde, for now and euer. God dealeth wrongfully with no man, but extendeth his mercie moste plentifully, ouer all mankynde. God gaue you twoo children, as the like I haue not knowen happie are you moste gracious ladie, that euer you bare thē. God lent you them twoo for a tyme, and toke them twoo a gain at his tyme, you haue no wrong doen you, that he hath

Death purchaseth rest.

Death more frendly, the soner it cometh.

Thracians.

Children by wepyng, declare our woo.

Job.

Lent goodes, muste be restored at the awners will.

taken thē: but you haue receiued a wonderfull benefite, that euer you had thē. He is very vniuste that borroweth, and wil not pay again, but at his pleasure. He forgetteth muche his duetie, that borroweth a iewell of the kynges maiestie, & will not restore it with good will, when it shall please his grace, to call for it. He is vnworthy hereafter to borowe, that will rather grudge, because he hath it no longer, then ones geue thankes, because he hath had the vse of it so long. He is ouer coueteous, that compteth not gainfull, the tyme of his borowyng: but iudgeth it his losse, to restore thynges again. He is vnthankfull, that thynkes he hath wrong doen, when his pleasure is shortened, and takes the ende of his delite, to bee extreme euill. He loseth the greatest parte of his ioye in this worlde, that thynketh there is no pleasure, but of thynges present: that cānot comfort hymself with pleasure past, and iudge them to be moste assured, considēryng the memorie of them ones had, can neuer decaye. His ioyes be ouer straighte, that bee comprehended within the compasse of his sighte, and thynketh no thyng comfortable, but that whiche is euer before his iyes. All pleasure whiche man hath in this worlde, is very shorte, and sone goeth it awaie, the remembraunce lasteth euer, and is muche more assured, then is the presence or liuely sight of any thyng. And thus your grace maie euer reioyce, that you had twoo suche, whiche liued so verteously, and died so Godly: and though their bodies bee absent from your sight, yet the remembraunce of their vertues, shall neuer decaye from your mynde. God lendeth life to all, and lendeth at his pleasure for a tyme. To this man he graunteth a long life, to this a shorte space, to some one, a daie, to some a yere, to some a moneth. Now whē God taketh, what man should be offended, considēryng he that gaue frely, maie boldely take his awne when he will, and dooe no manne wrong. The Kynges Maiestie geueth one .x. pounde another fourtie pounde, another three skore pounde, shall he be greued, that receiued but tenne pound, and not rather geue thankes, that he receiued so muche? Is that man happier, that dieth in the latter ende of the monethe, then he is that died in the beginnyng of the same Monethe? Doeth di-

stannce

ſtance of tyme, and long tarying from God, make men more happie, when thei come to God: By ſpace of paſſage we differ muche, and one liueth longer then another, but by death at the laſt, we all are matched, and none the happier, that liueth the longer, but rather moſte happie is he, that died the ſoneſt, & departed beſt in the faithe of Chriſt. Thinke therfore your ſelf moſt happie, that you had two ſuche, and geue God hartie thākes, that it pleaſed him ſo ſone, to take two ſuche. Neceſſitie is lawles, and that whiche is by God appoynted no man can alter. Reioyce we, or wepe we, die we ſhall, how ſone, no man can tell. Yea, we are all our life tyme warned before, that death is at hande, and that when we go to bedde we are not aſſured to riſe the nexte daie in the morning, no, not to liue one houre lōger. And yet to ſe our foly, we would aſſigne God his tyme, accordyng to our facietie, and not cōtent our ſelfes with his doynges, according to his appoynctment. And euer we ſaie, when any dye young, he might haue liued longer, it was pitie he died ſo ſone. As though forſothe he were not better with God, then he can bee with manne. Therefore, whereas for a tyme your grace, muche bewailed their lacke, not onely abſentyng your ſelf from all company but alſo refuſyng all kynde of comforte, almoſte dedde with heauineſſe, your body beyng ſo worne with ſorowe, that the long continuance of theſame, is muche like to ſhorten your daies: I ſhall deſire your grace for Goddes loue, to referre youre will to Goddes will, and whereas hetherto nature hath taught you to wepe the lacke of your naturall children lette reaſon teache you hereafter, to wipe awaie the teares, and lette not phantaſie encreaſe that, whiche nature hath commaunded moderately to vſe. To bee ſory for the lacke of oure deareſt, wee are taughte by nature, to bee ouercome with ſorowe, it commeth of oure awne fonde opinion, and greate folie it is, with naturall ſorowe, to encreaſe all ſorowe, and with a litle ſickeneſſe, to purchaſe readie deathe.

The ſorowes of brute beaſtes are ſharpe, and yet thei are but ſhorte. The Lowe lackyng her Caulfe, leaueth Lowyng within three or foure daies at the fartheſt. Birdes of the ayre perceiuyng their youngones taken from their neaſt, The nature of brute beaſtes.

chitter for a while in trees there aboute, and streighte after thei flie abrode, and make no more a doo. The Doo lackyng her Faune, the Hynde her Caulfe, braie no long tyme after their losse, but seyng their lacke to be without remedy, thei ceasse their sorowe within short space. Man onely emong al other, ceaseth not to fauour his sorowe, and lamenteth not onely so muche as nature willeth him, but also so muche as his awne affeccion moueth hym. And yet all folke do not so but suche as are subiect to passions, and furthest from fortitude of mynde, as women commonly, rather then men, rude people, rather then godly folke: the vnlearned, soner then the learned: foolishe folke, soner then wise men: children, rather then yong men. Whereupon we maie well gather, that immoderate sorowe is not naturall, (for that whiche is naturall, is euer like in al) but through folie mainteined, encreased by weakenesse, and for lacke of reason, made altogether intollerable. Then I doubte not but your grace, will rather ende your sorowe, by reason: then that sorowe should ende you, through foly: And whereas by nature, you are a weake woman in body, you will shewe your self by reason, a strong man in harte: rather endyng your grief by godly aduertisementes, and by the iust consideracion of Gods wonderfull doynges: then that tyme and space, should weare awaie your sorowes, whiche in deede suffer none continually to abide in any one, but rather ridde thē of life, or els ease them of grief. The foole, the vngodly, the weake harted haue this remedy, your medecine must be more heauenly, if you do (as you professe) referre all to Goddes pleasure, and saie in your praier. Thy will bee doen in yearth, as it is in heauen. Those whom God loueth, those he chasteneth, and happie is that body, whom God scourgeth, for his amendement. The man that dieth in the faithe of Christ is blessed, and the chastened seruaunt, if he doo repent and amende his life, shalbe blessed. We knowe not what we doo, when we bewaile the death of our deerest, for in death is altogether all happines, and before deathe, not one is happie. The miseries in this worlde declare, small felicitee to be in the same. Therefore, many men beyng ouerwhelmed with muche woe, and wretched

Immoderate sorowe, not naturall.

Tyme, a remedie for fooles, to take awaie their sorowe.

Math. vi. Iob. v.

The great miserie of this worlde, makes wetines of life

ched wickednes: haue wished and praied to God, for an ende of this life, and thought this worlde to be a let, to the heauenly perfeccion, the whiche blisse all thei shall attain hereafter that hope well here, and with a liuely faith declare their assuraunce. Your graces two sonnes, in their life wer so godly, that their death was their aduauntage: for, by death thei liued, because in life thei wer dedde. Thei died in faithe, not wearie of this worlde, nor wishyng for death, as ouerloden with synne: but pacientlye takyng the crosse, departed with ioye. At whose dyyng, your grace maie learne an example of pacience, and of thankes geuyng, that God of his goodnesse, hath so graciously taken these your two children, to his fauourable mercy. God punisheth, partly to trie your constancie, wherein I wishe that your grace, maie nowe bee as well willyng to forsake theim, as euer you were willyng to haue them. But suche is the infirmitie of our fleshe, that we hate good comforte in wordes, when the cause of our comforte indeede (as we take it) is gone. And me thinkes I heare you cry notwithstādyng all my wordes, alacke my children are gone. But what though thei are gone? God hath called, & nature hath obeyed. Yea, you crie still my children are dedde: Marie therefore thei liued, and blessed is their ende, whose life was so godly. Woe worthe, thei are dedde, thei are dedde. It is no new thyng, thei are neither the first that died, nor yet the last that shall die. Many went before, and all shall folowe after. Thei liued together, thei loued together, and now thei made their ende bothe together. Alas thei died, that wer the fruicte of myne awne body, leauyng me comfortlesse, vnhappie woman that I am. You do well, to cal thē the fruict of your body, & yet you nothyng the more vnhappie neither. For, is the tree vnhappy, frō whiche the appelles fall? Or is the yearth accursed, that bringeth furthe grene Grasse, whiche hereafter notwithstandyng doth wither. Death taketh no order of yeres, but when the tyme is appoynted, be it earely or late, daie or nighte, awaie we muste. But I praie you, what losse hath your grace? Thei died, that should haue died, yea, thei died, that could liue no longer. But you wished theim lōger life. Yea, but God made you no suche promise, & mete it wer

Impacience without comforte.

Trees, not accursed, because Apples fall from theim.

not that he shuld be led by you, but you rather should be led by him. Your children died, & that right godly, what would you haue more? All good mothers desire, that their children maie die Goddes seruauntes, the whiche youre grace hath moste assuredly obteined. Now again mannes nature altereth, and hardely tarieth vertue long in one place, without muche circumspection, & youth maie sone be corrupted. But you will saie. These were good and godly broughte vp, and therefore moste like to proue godly hereafter, if thei had liued still. Well, thoughe suche thynges perhappes had not chaunced, yet suche thynges mighte haue chaunced, and although thei happen not to al, yet do thei happe to many, and though thei had not chaunced to your children, yet we knew not that before, and more wisedome it had been, to feare the worst with good aduisement, then euer to hope, and loke stil for the best, without all mistrustyng. For, suche is the nature of mā, and his corrupt race, that euermore the one foloweth

Commodus

soner, then thother. Commodus was a verteous childe, and had good bringyng vp, and yet he died a moste wicked man.

Nero.

Nero wanted no good counsaill, and suche a master he had, as neuer any had the better, and yet what one aliue, was worse then he? But now death hath assured your grace, that you maie warrant your self, of their godly ende, whereas if God had spared them life, thynges might haue chaunced otherwise. In wishyng longer life, we wishe often tymes lōger woe, longer trouble, longer foly in this world, and weye all thynges well, you shall perceiue wee haue small ioye to wishe longer life. This imagination of longer life, when the life standeth not by nomber of yeres, but by the appoynted will of God, maketh our foly so muche to appere, & our teares so continually to fall frō our chekes. For if we thought (as we should dooe in deede) that euery date rising, maie be the ende of euery man liuyng, and that there is no difference with God, betwixt one daie, and an hūdreth yeres: we might beare all sorowes, a greate deale the better. Therfore it wer moste wisedome for vs all, and a greate poynct of perfection to make euery daie an euen rekenyng of our life, and talke so with God euery houre, that we maie bee of euen borde with

hym,

hym, through fulnes of faithe, and redy to go the next houre folowyng, at his commaundemente, and to take alwaies his sendyng in good part. The lorde is at hande. We knowe not when he will come (at mid night, at cocke crowe, or at noone daies) to take either vs, or any of ours. Therfore, the rather that we maie be armed, let vs folowe the examples of other godly men, and lay their doynges before our iyes. And emõg all other, I knowe none so mete for your graces comfort, as the wise and Godly behauiour of good Kyng Dauid. Who when he was enfourmed, that his sonne was sicke, praied to God hartly, for his amendement, wept, fasted, & with muche lamentacion, declared greate heauinesse. But when woorde came of his sonnes departure, he left his mournyng, he called for water, and willed meate to be set before hym, that he might eate. Wherupõ, when his men marueiled why he did so, considerying he toke it so greuously before, when his child was but sicke, and now beyng dedde, toke no thought at all, he made this answere vnto theim: so long as my child liued, I fasted, and watered my plantes for my young boye, and I saied to my self, who can tell, but that God perhappes will geue me hym, and that my child shall liue, but now seyng he is dedde, to what ende should I faste? Can I call hym again any more? Naye, I shall rather go vnto hym, he shall neuer come againe vnto me. And with that Dauid comforted his wife Bethsabe, the whiche example, as I truste your grace hath redde, for your comfort, so I hope you will also folowe it for youre healthe, and bee as strong in pacience, as euer Dauid was. The historie it self shall muche delighte youre grace, beeyng redde as it lieth in the Booke, better then my bare touchyng of it can dooe, a greate deale. The whiche I doubte not but your grace will often reade, and comforte other your self, as Dauid did his sorowfull wife. Job losyng his children, and all that he had, forgatte not to praise God in his extreme pouertie. Tobias lackyng his iye sighte, in spirite praised GOD, and with open mouthe, confessed his holy name to bee magnified throughout the whole yearthe. Paule the Apostle of God, reproueth thē as worthy blame, whiche mourne and lament, the losse of their derest. I would

Dauid. ii. Regum. xii.

Job.

Tobias.

1.Thessa.iiii. not brethren (q he) that you should be ignorant, concernyng them whiche be fallen on slepe, that you sorowe not as other doo, whiche haue no hope. If we beleue that Jesus died, and rose again, euen so thei also, whiche slepe by Jesus, wil God bryng again with hym. Then your grace, either with leauyng sorowe, must shewe your self faithfull, or els with yeldyng to your wo, declare your self to be without hope. But I trust your grace, beyng planted in Christ, will shew with sufferaunce, the fruicte of your faithe, and comforte your self

Jhon.xi. with the wordes of Christ, I am the resurrectiõ and the life he that beleueth on me, yea, though he wer dedde, yet should he liue, and whosoeuer liueth, and beleueth in me, shal neuer die. We read of those that had no knowlege of God, and yet thei bare in good worth, the diseease of their children. Anaxo-

Anaragoras. goras hearyng tell, that his soune was dedde, no maruail q he, I knowe well I begot a mortall body. Pericles chief ru-

Pericles. ler of Athens, hearyng tell that his twoo sounes, beyng of wonderfull towardnesse, within foure daies wer bothe ded, neuer greately chaunged countenaunce for the matter, that any one could perceiue, nor yet forbare to go abrode, but according to his wõted custome, did his duetie in the counsail house, in debatyng matters of weighte, concernyng the state of the common peoples weale. But because your grace is a woman, I will shewe you an example of a noble woman, in

Cornelia. whom appered wonderfull pacience. Cornelia, a worthy ladie in Rome, beyng comforted for the losse of her twoo children, Tiberius, and Caius Gracchus, bothe valiaunt ientlemen, although bothe not the moste honest menne, whiche died not in their beddes, but violently were slain in Ciuill battaill, their bodies lyng naked and vnburied, when one emõgest other saied: Oh vnhappie woman, that euer thou shouldest se this daie. Naie q she, I wil neuer thinke my self other wise, then moste happy, that euer I brought furthe these two Gracchions. If this noble lady, could thinke her self happie, beyng mother to these twoo valiaunt ientlemen, & yet both rebelles, and therefore iustly slain: Howe muche more maye youre grace, thynke youre self moste happie, that euer you broughte furthe twoo suche Braudons, not onely by natu-

rall

ral birth, but also by most godly education, in such sort that the lyke. if. haue not been for their towardnes vniuersallie. Whose deathe the general voice of all men declares howe muche it was lamented. So that whereas you might euer haue feared some daungerouse ende, you are nowe assured that they both made a most godly ende, the whiche thyng is the ful perfection of a Christiã lyfe. I reade of one Bibulus that hearyng of his two children to dye both in one daie, lamented the lacke of them bothe for that one daye, and mourned no more. And what coulde a man doe lesse than for two children to lament but one daie: and yet in my mynde he lamented enough and eue so muche as was reason for hym to do, whose doynges if all Christians woulde folowe, in my iudgement they shoulde not onely fulfill natures rule, but also please God highly. Horatius Puluillus beeyng highe Priest at Rome when he was occupied about the dedicatyng of a Temple to their greate God Iuppiter in the Capitoly, holdyng a post in his hande, and hard as he was veteryng the solempne wordes, that his sonne was dead, euen at the same present: he did neither plucke his hande from the post lest he shoulde trouble suche a solempnitie, neither yet turned his countenaunce from that publique religiõ to his priuate sorowe, least he should seeme rather to doe the office of a father, then the dutie of an highe minister. Paulus Emilius after his moste noble victorie had of Kyng Perse, desired of God, that if after suche a triumphe there were any harme lyke to happen to the Romaines, the same might fal vpon his owne house. Whereupon when God had taken his two children from hym immediatly after, he thancked God for grauntyng him his bound. For in so doyng he was a meane that the people rather lamented Paulus Emilius lacke, thẽ that Paulus or any bewailed any misfortune that the Romains had. Examples be innumerable of those whiche vsed lyke moderation in subduyng their affections, as Zenophon, Quintus Martius, Julius Cesar, Tiberius Cesar, Emperours bothe of Rome. But what seeke I for misfortunate men, (if any suche be misfortunate) seyng it is an harder matter and a greater peece of worke to finde out

Bibulus.

Horatius Puluillus.

Paulus Emilius.

Quintus Martius.

Julius Cesar.

Tyberius Cesar.

happie men, Let vs loke round about euen at home, and we shal finde enowe subiect to this misfortune. for who liueth that hath not lost? Therfore I woulde wishe your grace euen nowe to come in againe with God, and although he be angry, yet show you your self most obedient to his wil, cõsideryng he is Lorde ouer Kynges, Emperours, and ouer al that be bothe in heauen and in yearth, and spareth noone whom he listeth to take, and no doubt he wil take all at the last. His dart goeth daily, neither is any darte cast in vaine whiche is sent amongest a whole armie standyng thicke together. Neither can you iustly lament that they lyued no longer, for they lyued long enough, that haue liued well enough. You muste measure your children by their vertues, not by their yeres. For (as the wise man saith) a mans wisedom is the grey heeres, and an vndefiled life, is the old age. Happie is that mother that hath had Godly children, and not she that hath had long lyuyng children. For if felicitie should stande by length of tyme, some tree were more happy then is any man, for it liueth longer, and so likewyse brute beastes, as the Stagge, who liueth (as Plinius dothe say) two hundreth yeares, and more. If we woulde but consider what man is, we shoulde haue small hope to lyue, and litle cause to put any great assuraunce in this lyfe. Let vs se him what he is: Is his body any thyng els but a lumpe of earth made together in suche forme as we do see? A frail vessell, a weake carion, subiect to miserie, cast doune with euery light disease, a man to daie, to morowe none. A flower that this daie is freshe, to morowe withereth. Good Lorde do we not see that euen those thynges whi he nourishe vs, doe rotte & dye, as herbes, birdes, beastes, water, and al other without the whiche we cannot lyue. And how can we lyue euer, that are susteined by dead thinges? Therfore when any one doth dye, why do we not thynke, that this may chaunce to euery one, whiche now hath chaunced to any one. We be now as those that stande in battail raie. Not one man is suer of him selfe before an other, but al are in daunger in lyke maner to death That your children died before other that were of riper yeares, we may iudge that their ripenes for vertue and

Sap. iiii.

Trees lyue lõger then men.

The Stagge how long he liueth.

Man, what he is, concernyng his body.

all other giftes of nature were brought euen to perfection, wherby death the soner approched, for nothyng long lasteth that is sone excellent. God gaue your grace two most excellent childrē, God neuer geueth for any long tyme those that be right excellent. Their natures were heauenly, and therfore more meete for God then man. Emong frute we se some appels are sone ripe and fal from the tree in the middest of summer: other be stil greene, & tary til winter, & hereupō are cōmonly called wynter frute: Euen so it is with men, some dye young, some dye old, & some die in their midle age. Your sunnes wer euen. ij. suche already, as some hereafter may be with long cōtinuance of tyme. Thei had that in their youth for the giftes of nature, whiche al men would require of thē bothe scacelie in their age. Therfore beeyng both now ripe, they were now most ready for God. There was a childe in Rome of a mans quantite, for face, legges & other partes of his body, wherupon wise men iudged he would not be long liuyng. How could your grace thynke, that when you sawe auncient wisdō in the one, & most pregnant wit in the other meruailouse sobrietes in the elder, & most laudable gentlines in the younger, them bothe most studious in learnyng, most forward in al feates aswel of the body, as of the mind, beyng two suche, & so excellent, that they were lyke long to continue with you: God neuer suffreth such excellēt & rare iewels long to enherite therth. Whatsoeuer is nie perfectiō the same is most nigh falling. Vertue being ons absolute cānot long be seen with these our fleshly yes, neither can that tary the latter end with other, that was ripe it self first of al & before other. Fier goth out the soner, the clearer that it burneth: & that light lasteth longest, that is made of most course matter. In greene wood we may see that where as the fuel is not most apt for burning, yet the fier lasteth lōger, than if it were nourished with like quantitie of drie wood. Euē so in the nature of man the mynde beeyng ripe, the body decayeth streight, and life goeth away beeyng ones brought to perfection. Neither can there be any greater token of shorte lyfe, than full ripenes of naturall witte: The whiche is to the bodie, as the heate of the Sunne is to thynges yearthly.

Ripe thynges last not long.

Therfore iudge right honourable ladie, that euen now they both died, when they both wer most readie for God, neither thinke that thei died ouer soone, because thei liued no lõger. They died both Gods seruauntes, & therfore they died wel and in good tyme. God hath set their tyme, and taken them at his tyme blessed children as they be, to reigne with hym in the kyngdom of his father prepared for them from the beginnyng. Unto whose wil, I wishe and I truste your grace doth wholy referre your wil, thankyng hym as hartely for that he hath taken them, as you euer thanked hym, for that he euer lent you them. I knowe the wicked wordes of some vngodly folke haue muche disquieted your grace, notwithstandyng God beyng iudge of your naturall loue towardes your children, and al your faithful frendes, and seruauntes bearyng earnest witnes with your grace of the same: there vngodly talke the more lightely is to bee esteemed, the more vngodly that it is. May your grace may reioyce rather, that whereas you haue doen well, you heare euill, accordyng to the wordes of Christe: Blessed are you, when men speake al euil thynges against you. And again consider GOD is not ledde by the reporte of men to iudge his creatures, but perswaded by ỹ true knowlege of euery mans conscience, to take them for his seruauntes, & furthermore the harme is theirs whiche speake so lewdlie, and the blesse theirs whiche beare it so patiẽtly. For loke what measure thei vse to other, with the same they shalbe measured againe. And as they iudge so shal they be iudged. Be your grace therfore strong in aduersitie, and pray for them that speake amisse of you, rendryng Gode for euil, and with charitable dealyng showe your self long suffryng, so shal you heape cooles on their heades. The boisterouse Sea trieth the good mariner, and sharpe veratiõ declareth the true Christian. Where battaill hath not been before, there neuer was any victorie obteined. Now then beyng thus assailed, show your self rather stowte to withstãd, than weake, to geue ouer: rather cleauyng to good, than yeldyng to euil. For if God be with you, what forceth who bee against you. For when al frendes faile, GOD neuer faileth them that put their truste in him, and with an vnfained hart

Math. v.

Patiẽce praise worthie in aduersitie.

cal

cal to hym for grace. Thus doyng I assure your grace, God wilbe pleased, and the Godly wil muche praise your wisdō, though the worlde ful wickedly saie their pleasure. I praie God your grace may please the Godlie, and with your vertuouse behauiour in this your wydohode, winne there commendation to the glory of God, the reioysyng of your frendes, and the comforte of your soule. Amen.

Thus, the rather to make preceptes plaine, I haue added examples at large both for counsel geuyng, & for comfortyng. And most needeful it were in suche kynd of Oracions to be most occupied, considering the vse hereof appereth full ofte in al partes of our life, and confusedly is vsed emong al other matters. For in praisyng a worthie man, we shal haue iust cause to speake of all his vertues, of thynges profitable in this lyfe, and of pleasures in generall. Lykewyse in trauersyng a cause before a iudge, we cannot wante the aide of persuasion, and good counsel, concernyng wealth, health, life and estimacion, the helpe wherof is partely borowed of this place. But whereas I haue sette forthe at large the places of confirmacion concernyng counsel in diuerse causes: it is not thought that either they should al be vsed in numbre as they are, or in ordre as they stande: but that any one may vse theim and ordre theim as he shall thynke best, accordyng as the tyme, place, and person, shal most of al require.

¶ Of an Oration iudicial.

THE whole burdeine of weightie matters, and the earnest trial of al controuersies, rest onely vpon iudgement. Therfore when matters concernyng lande, gooddes, or life, or any suche thyng of lyke weight are called in Question, we must euer haue recourse to this kynde of Oration, and after iust examinyng of our causes by the places therof loke for iudgement accordyng to the law.

¶ Oration Judicial what it is.

ORation Judicial is, an earnest debatyng in open assemblie of some weightie matter before a iudge, where the complainaunt commenceth his action, & the defendaunt thereupon aunswereth at his peril to al suche thynges as are laied to his charge.

Of the foundacion, or rather principall poinste in euery debated matter, called of the Rhetoricians the State, or constitucion of the Cause.

NOT onely is it nedefull in causes of iudgement to consider the scope whereunto wee must leavell our reasons, & directe our inuencion: but also we ought in euery cause to haue a respect vnto some one especial poincte, and chief article: that the rather the whole drift of our doynges may seeme to agree with our firste deuised purpose. For, by this meanes our iudgement shalbe framed to speake with discretion, and the ignoraunt shall learne to perceiue with profite, whatsoeuer is said for his enstructiō. But they that take vpon theim to talke in open audience, & make not their accompte before, what thei wil speake after: shal neither be well liked for their inuencīō, nor allowed for their witte, nor esteemed for their learnyng. For, what other thyng do they, that boult out their wordes in suche sorte, & without al aduisement vtter out matter: but showe themselues to plaie as young boyes, or scarre crowes do, whiche showte in the open and plaine feldes at all auentures hittie missie. The learned therfore and suche as loue to be coumpted Clerkes of vnderstandyng, and men of good circumspection and iudgement: doe warely scanne what they chefely mynd to speake, and by definition seke what that is whereunto they purpose to directe their whole doynges. For, by suche aduised warenesse, and good iye castyng: they shall alwaies be able both to knowe what to say, & to speake what they ought. As for example if I shal haue occasion to speake in open audience of the obedience due to our souereigne kyng I ought firste to learne what is obedience, and after knowelege attained, to direct my reasons to the onely proue of this purpose, and wholly to seke confirmacion of the same, & not turne my tale to talke of Robbyn Hoode, & to showe what a goodly archer was he, or to speake wounders of the man in the Mone, suche as are most nedelesse & farthest from the purpose. For then, the hearer lookyng to be taught his obedience, & hearing in the meane season mad tales of archerie, and great meruailes of the man in the Mone: beyng half astonied

Definition of a thyng must firste be knowē ere we speake our mynd at large.

Rouyng without reason.

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A State generally what it is.

The

The whiche when he hath doen, his promise is fulfilled, his time wel bestowed, and the heareꝛs wel instructed.

¶ A State, oꝛ constitution what it is in matters of Judgement.

IN al other cauſes the ſtate is gathered without cõtention, and ſeuerally handled vpon good aduiſement as he ſhal thynke beſt that profeſſeth to ſpeake. But in matters criminall, where iudgement is requiꝛed: there aꝛe two perſons at the leaſt, whiche muſt through contrarietie, ſtande and reſte vpon ſome iſſue. As foꝛ example: A ſeruyng man is apprehended by a lawyer foꝛ felonie vpon ſuſpicion. The lawier ſaith to the ſeruyng man: Thou haſt done this robbery. Nay, (ſaith he) I haue not doen it. Vpon this conflicte & matchyng together, ariſeth this State, whether this ſeruing man hath done this robbery, oꝛ no: Vpon whiche poincte the lawyer muſt ſtande, and ſeeke to proue it to the vttermoſt of his power.

State in Judgement what it is.

A State therfoꝛe in matters of iudgement is that thyng, whiche doeth ariſe vpon the firſt demaunde and denial made betwixt men, whereof the one part is the accuſer, and the other part the perſon, oꝛ perſons accuſed. It is called a State becauſe we doe ſtande and reſte vpon ſome one poincte, the whiche muſt wholly and onely be proued of the one ſide, and denied of the other. I cannot better terme it in Engliſhe than by the name of an iſſue, the whiche not onely ariſeth vpon muche debatyng and long trauerſe vſed, whereupon all matters aꝛ ſaid to com to an iſſue: but alſo elſwhere an iſſue is ſaid to be then and ſo often as bothe parties ſtande vpon one point, the whiche doth alwel happen at the firſt begynnyng before any probacions are vſed, as it doth at the latter endyng after the matter hath at large been diſcuſſed.

State, why it is ſo called.

¶ The diuiſion of States, oꝛ iſſues.

NOw that we knowe what an Iſſue is, it is nexte moſt nedeful to ſhowe how many thei are in numbꝛe. The wiſeſt and beſt learned haue agreed vpon thꝛe onely, and no leſſe, the whiche are theſe folowyng.

The

The state. { i. Conjecturall. ij. Legall. iij Juridiciall.

AND for the more playne vnderstandynge of these darcke wordes, these three questions folowinge, expounde their meaninge altogether.

{ i. Whether the thinge bee, or no. ij. What it is. iij. What maner of thinge it is.

IN the fyrst we consider vpon rehearsal of a matter whether anye suche thinge bee, or no. As if one shoulde be accused of Murther, good it were to knowe, whether anye murther were committed at all, or no, if it be not perfectlye knowne before: and after to go further, and examine whether suche a man that is accused, haue done the dede or no.

In the seconde place, we doubte not vpon the thinge done, but we stande in doubte what to call it. Sometimes a man is accused of felonye, and yet he proueth his offence to be but a trespace, wherupon he escapeth the daunger of deathe. An other beynge accused for killynge a man, confesseth his faulte to be manslaughter, and denieth it vtterlye to be any murder, wherupō he maketh frendes to purchase his Pardon. Nowe the lawyers by their learninge muste iudge the doubte of this debate, and tell what name he deserueth to haue that hath thus offended.

In the thyrde place, not onely the dede is confessed, but the maner of doynge is defended. As if one were accused for killynge a man, to confesse the deede, and also to stande in it that he myght iustely so do, because he did it in his owne defence: wherupon ariseth this Question, whether his doing be ryght or wrong. And to make these matters more plaine, I will adde an example for euery state, seuerally.

Of the state Conjecturall.

The Assertion.

Thou hast killed this manne.

The Aunswere.

I haue not killed him.

The State or Issue.

Whether he hath killed this man or no. Thus we see vpon the auouchinge and deniall, the matter standeth vpon an issue.

Of the state Legall.

Assertion.

Thou hast committed treason in this facte.

Aunswere.

I denye it to be treason.

State or issue.

Whether his offence done maye be called treason or no. Here is denied that any suche thinge is in the dede done, as is by word reported, and saide to bee.

Of the state Juridiciall.

Assertion.

Thou hast kylled this manne.

Aunswere.

I graunte it, but I haue doone it lawfullye, because I killed him in mine owne defence.

State or issue.

Whether a man may kill one in his owne defence, or no, and whether this man did so, or no.

The Oration coniecturall, what it is.

THe Oration coniectural is, when matters be examined and tryed out by suspicions gathered, and some likelihode of thinge appearinge. A Souldiour is accused for killinge a Farmar. The Souldioure denieth it vtterly, & sayth he did not kyll him. Hereupon riseth the question, whether the Souldioure killed the Farmar or no, who is well knowen to be slayne. Nowe to proue this question, we muste haue suche places of confirmation, as hereafter do folowe.

☞ Places of confirmation, to proue thinges by coniecture.

Will

i. Will, to do euill.
ij. Power, to do euil.

IN the will muste be considered the qualitye of the man, whether he were like to do suche a dede or no, and what shoulde moue him to attempte suche an enterpryse, whether he did the murther vpon anye displeasure before conceyued, or of a sodayne anger, or els for that he loked by his death to receyue some commoditie, either lande, or office, money, or money worth, or anye other gainefull thinge. i.

Some are knowen to want no will to kill a manne, because they haue bene flesht heretofore, passing as little vpō the deathe of a man, as a Bocher dothe passe for killinge of an Ore, beynge heretofore either accused before a Iudge of manslaughter, or els quitte by some general pardon. Now, when the names of such menne are knowen, they make wise men euer after to haue them in suspection. ij.

The countrey where the man was borne declares sometime his natural inclination, as if he wer borne or brought vp emong the Tindale, and Riddesdale menne, he may the soner be suspected. iij.

Of what trade he is, by what occupation he liueth. iiij.

Whether he be a gamester, an alehouse haunter, or a pastion emong Ruffians. v.

Of what wealthe he is, and how he came by that whiche he hath, if he haue anye. vi.

What apparell he weareth, and whether he loueth to go gaye, or no. vij

Of what nature he is, whether he be hastye, headye, or readye to pike quarels. viij.

What shiftes he hath made from time to tyme. ix

What moued him to do suche an haynous dede. x.

Places of Confirmation to proue whether he had power to do suche a dede, or no.

i. The grounde where the man was slaine, whether it was in the hygh waye, in a woode, or betwixt two hylles, or els where, nighe to an hedge or secrete place.

ij. The tyme, whether it was earlye in the morynge, or late at nyght.

iij. Whether he was there about that time or no.

iiij. Whether he ranne awaye after the deede done, or had anye bloude aboute him, or trembled, or stakerde, or was contrarie in tellyng of his tale, and how he kept his countenaunce.

v. Hope to kepe his dede secrete, bi reason of the place, time, and secrete maner of doynge.

vi. Witnesses examined of his beynge, either in this or that place.

vij By comparinge of the strengthe of the murtherer wyth the other mans weakenes, armoure with nakednes, & stoutnes with simplicitie.

viij. His Confession.

An example of an Oration Judiciall, to proue by Coniectures the knowledge of a notable and mooste haynous offence, committed by a Souldiour

AS Nature hath euer abhorred murder, and God in all ages most terriblye hath plagued bloudsheading: so I truste your wisedomes (mooste worthye Judges) will spedelye seke the execution of this mooste hatefull synne. And where as God reuealeth to the syght of menne the knowledge of such offences by diuers likelihodes, and probable coniectures: I doubte not but you beyng called of God to heare suche causes, wyll doe herein as reason shall require, and as this detestable offence shall moue you vpon rehearsall of the matter. The Manne that is well knowen to be slayne, was a worthye Farmar, a good housekeper, a welthye husbandemanne, one that traueyled muche in this worlde, meanynge vprightlye in all hys doinges, and therfore beloued emonge all men, and lamented of manye when his deathe was knowen. This Souldi-

our

oure beynge desperate in his doynges, and liuyng by spoyle all his lyfe tyme, came newlie from the warres, whose handes hath bene latelye bathed in bloude, and nowe he kepeth this countrey (where this farmar was slaine) and hath ben here for the space of one whole moneth together, and by all likelihodes he hath slaine this honest farmer. For, such menslesht vilaynes, make small accompte for kyllinge anye one, and do it they will withoute anye mercye, when they maye see their time. Yea, this wretch is bruted for his beastly demeanoure, and knowen of longe time to be a stronge thiefe. Nether had he escaped the daunger of the law, if the kinges free pardon had not preuented the execution. His name declares his noughtye nature, and his wycked liuynge hathe made him famous. For, who is he that hearynge of N. (the notable offenders name myght here be rehearsed) doth not thynke by and by, that he were lyke to do suche a dede? Neither is he onelye knowen vniuersallye to be nought, but his soyle also (where he was borne) greueth him to be an euill man: consideringe he was bredde and brought vp emong a denne of theues, emonge the men of Tindale and Ryddesdale, where pillage is good purchase, and murderynge is counted manhode. Occupation hath he none, nor yet any other honeste meanes, wherby to maintayne him selfe: & yet he liueth moste sumptuouslye. No greater gamester in a whole countrey, no such riotour, a notable whoremonger, a lewderoister emong Ruffiãs, an vnreasonable waister, to day ful of money, w̃in a seuẽnight after not worth a grote. There is no man that seethe him, but will take him for his apparell to be a gentilman. He hath his chaunge of sutes, yea, he spareth not to go in his silkes and veluet. A greate quareller, and fraie maker, glad when he may be at defiaũce with one or other, he hath made such shyftes for money ere now, that I maruaile how he hath liued till this daye. And now beyng at a low ebbe, & lothe to seme base in his estate, thought to aduenture vpon this farmar, and either to winne the saddle, or els to lose the horse. And thus beynge so farre forwarde, wantinge no will to attempte this wicked deede, he sought by all meanes possible, conuenient opportu-

nitye to compaſſe his deſire. And waytinge vnder a woode ſide, nighe vnto the hyghe waye, aboute ſixe of the clocke at night, he ſette vpon this farmer, at what time he was com-ming homewarde. For, it appeareth not onelye by his owne confeſſion, that he was there aboute the ſelfe ſame time, where this man was ſlayne: but alſo there be men that ſaw him ride in greate haſte aboute the ſelfe ſame time. And be-cauſe GOD would haue thys murder to be knowen, loke I praye you what bloude he carieth aboute hym, to beare witneſſe agaynſte hym of hys mooſt wicked deede. Againe, hys owne confeſſion dothe playnelye goe againſte hym, for he is in ſo manye tales, that he can not tell what to ſaye. And often his coloure chaungeth, his bodye ſhaketh, and hys tongue foultereth wythin hys mouthe. And ſuche men as he bryngeth in to beare witneſſe wyth hym, that he was at ſuche a place at the ſelfe ſame houre, when the Farmar was ſlayne: they wyll not be ſworne for the verye houre, but they ſaye, he was at ſuche a place, wythin two houres after. Now Lord, dothe not this matter ſeeme mooſt playne vnto al mē, eſpecially ſeing this dede was done ſuch a time, and in ſuche a place, that if the deuyl had not bene his good Lorde, thys matter hadde neuer come to lyghte. And who wyll not ſaye that this Caytife hadde little cauſe to feare, but rather power inoughe to doe his wycked feacte, ſeynge he is ſo ſturdye and ſo ſtronge, and the other ſo weake and vnweldy: yea, ſeyng this vilaine was armed, and the other man naked. Doubte yon not (worthye Judges) ſeynge ſuch notes of his former lyfe to declare his inwarde nature, and perceiuing ſuche coniectures lawfully gathered vpon iuſte ſuſpicion: but that this wretched Souldioure hath ſlayne thys worthye Farmar. And therfore I appeale for iuſtice vnto your wiſdomes for the deathe of thys innocente man, whoſe bloude before God aſketh iuſte auengement. I doubt not but you remember the wordes of Salomon, who ſaith. It is as greate a ſynne to forgeue the wicked, as it is euill to condeumne the innocente: and as I call vnfaynedlye for ryghtfull Judgemente, ſo I hope aſſuredlye for iuſte exe-cucion.

The

The Person accused beynge innocente of the cryme that is layed to his charge, may vse the selfe same places for his owne defence, the whyche hys accuser vsed to proue hym gylty.

The interpretation of a lawe, otherwise called the State legall.

IN doultynge out the true meaninge of a lawe, we must vse to search out the nature of the same, by definyng some one worde, or comparing one law wyth an other, iudging vpon good triall, what is right, and what is wronge.

The partes.

i. Definition.
ii. Contrarye lawes.
iii. Lawes made, & thende of the law maker.
iiii. Ambignitye, or doubtfulnes.
v. Probation by thinges like.
vi. Chalengynge or refusinge.

Definition what it is.

WHen we vse to define a matter, when wee can not agree vpon the nature of some word, the which we learne to know by askyng the question what it is. As for example. Where one is apprehended for killing a man, we laye murder to his charge: wherupon the accused person when he graũteth the killing, and yet denieth it to be murder: we must straight after haue recourse to the definition, and aske, what is murder, by definynge whereof, and comparing the nature of the word, with his dede done: we shall some know whether he committed murder or manslaughter.

Contrarye lawes.

IT often happeneth that lawes seme to haue a certaine repugnancie, wherof emõg many riseth much cõtenciõ, wher as if both ỹ lawes wer wel weied & cõsidered according to their circũstances, thei wold

appeare nothing contrari in matter, though in wordes they seme to dissent. Christ geueth warning, & chargeth his disciples in the .x. of Math. that they preach not the glad tidinges of his cõming into the world to the Gentils, but to the Iewes only, vnto whom he was sent by his father. And yet after his resurrection we do read in the last of Mat. that he commaunded his disciples to go into all the whole world, and preach the glad tidinges of his passion, & raunsome, paied for al creatures liuing. Now though these .ii. lawes seme contrary, yet it is nothing so. For if the Iewes would haue receiued Christ, & acknowleged him their sauioure, vndoutedly they had bene the onelye children of God, vnto whom the promise and couenaunt was made from the beginninge. But bicause they refused their Sauiour, and crucified the Lord of glory: Christ made the lawe generall, and called all men to life that woulde repent, promisinge saluation to all suche as beleued and were baptised. So that the particuler law, beyng nowe abrogated, muste neades geue place to the superioure.

Foure lessons to be obserued, where contrarye lawes are called in question.

i. The inferioure law must geue place to the superiour.
ii. The lawe generall muste yelde to the speciall.
iii. Mans lawe, to Gods lawe.
iiii. An olde lawe, to a newe lawe.

There be Lawes vtterde by Christes owne mouthe, the whiche if they be taken accordinge as they are spoken, seme to conteyne great absurditie in them. And therfore the mind of the lawe maker muste rather be obserued, then the bare wordes taken onely, as they are spoken. Christ sayth in the v. of Mathew. If thy right eye be an offence vnto thee, plucke him out, and caste him awaye from thee. If one geue thee a blowe of thy ryghte cheke, turne to him agayne thy lefte

Math. v.

cheke

cheke. There be some Eunuches, that haue gelded theselfes for the kyngdome of heauen. Go, and sell all that thou hast, and geue it to the poore. He that doeth not take vp his crosse and folowe me, is not worthy of me. In all whiche sentences there is no suche meanyng, as the bare wordes vttered seme to yelde. Pluckyng out of the eye, declares an auoydyng of all euill occasions: receiuyng a blowe vpon the lefte cheke, cõmendes vnto vs, modestie and pacience in aduersitie. Geldyng, signifieth a subduyng of affeccions, & tamyng the foule lustes of pleasure, vnto the will of reason. Go and sell all: declares we should be liberal, and glad to part with our goodes to the poore and neady. Bearyng the Crosse, betokeneth sufferance of all sorowes, and miseries in this worlde. Now to proue that the will of the lawe maker, is none other then I haue sated: I maie vse the testimonies of other places in the Scripture, and compare theim with these sentences, and so, iudge by iuste examinacion, and diligent searche, the true meanyng of the lawe maker. Matth.xix. Matth.xvi.

¶ Ambiguitee.

SOmetymes a doubt is made, vpon some woorde or sentẽce, when it signifieth diuerse thynges, or maie diuersly be taken, wherupon ful oft ariseth muche contencion. The lawyers lacke no cases, to fil this parte full of examples. For, rather then faile, thei will make doubtes oftẽ tymes, where no doubt should be at all. Is his Lease long enough (q one): yea sir, it is very long, saied a poore husbande man. Then (q he) let me alone with it, I wil finde a hole in it, I warrant thee. In all this talke, I excepte alwaies the good lawyers, and I maie well spare theim, for thei are but a fewe. Lawyers.

¶ Probacion by thynges like.

WHen there is no certain lawe by expresse wordes vttered for some heinous offender, we maie iudge the offence worthy deathe, by rehersall of some other Lawe, that soundeth muche that waie. As thus. The ciuil lawe appoynteth ẏ he shalbe put in a sacke, and cast in the Sea, that killeth his father: well, then he that killeth his mother, should by all reason, in like sort be ordered

red. It is lawfull to haue a Magistrate, therefore it is lawfull to plead matters before an officer. And thus, though the last cānot be proued by expresse wordes, yet the same is found lawfull, by rehersall of the first.

¶ Chalengyng, or rekelyng.

WE vse this order, when wee remoue our sewtes, from one Courte to another, as if a manne should appele from the Common place, to the Chaunceric. Or if one should bee called by a wrong name, not to answere vnto it. Or if one should refuse to answere in the spirituall court, and appele to the lorde Chauncellor.

¶ The Oracion of right or wrong, called otherwise the state Juridiciall.

AFter a deede is well knowen to be doen, by some one persone, we go to the next, and searche whether it be right, or wrong. And that is, when the maner of doyng is examined, and the matter tried through reasonyng, and muche debatyng, whether it be wrongfully doen or otherwise.

¶ The diuision.

THis state of right or wrong, is twoo waies diuided, wherof the one is, when the matter by the awne nature, is defended to bee righte, without any further sekyng, called of the Rhetoriciās, the state absolute. The other (vsyng litle force, or strengthe to maintein the matter) is, when outward help is sought, and bywaies vsed to purchase fauour, called otherwise the state assumptiue.

¶ Places of confirmacion for the first kynd, are seuen.

i. Nature it selfe.
ij. Goddes lawe, and mannes lawe.
iij. Custome.
iiij. Aequitie.
v. True dealyng.
vj. Auncient examples.
vij. Couenauntes and deedes autentique.

Tullie

Tullie in his moste worthy Oracion, made in behalfe of Milo, declareth that Milo slewe Clodius moste lawfully, whom Clodius sought to haue slain moste wickedly. For (q Tullie) if nature haue grafted this in man, if lawe haue confirmed it, if necessitie haue taught it if custome haue kept it, if aequitie haue mainteined it, if true dealyng hath allowed it, if all common weales haue vsed it, if deedes auncient haue sealed this vp, that euery creature liuyng should fense it selfe, against outward violence: no mã can thinke that Milo hath dooen wrong, in killyng of Clodius, except you thinke, that when menne mete with theues, either thei must be slain of theim, or els condempned of you.

¶ Places of confirmacion for the seconde kynde, are foure.

- Grauntyng of the faulte committed.
- Blamyng euill companie for it.
- Comparyng the fault, and declaryng that either thei must haue doen that, or els haue doen worse
- Shiftyng it from vs, and shewyng that wee did it vpon commaundement.

Confessyng, what it is.

¶ Confessyng of the faulte, is when the accused person graunteth his crime, and craueth pardon thereupon, leauyng to aske iustice, & leanyng wholy vnto mercie

¶ Confession of the faulte, vsed twoo maner of waies.

The diuision.

The first is, when one excuseth hymself, that he did it not willyngly, but vnwares, and by chaunce.

The second is, when he asketh pardone, for the fault doen consideryng his seruice to the common weale, and his worthy deedes heretofore dooen, promisyng amendement of his former euill deede: the whiche wordes, would not be vsed before a Iudge, but before a kyng, or generall of an armie. For the Iudges muste geue sentence, accordyng to the Lawe: the Kyng maie forgeue, as beyng authour of the lawe, and hauyng power in his hande, maie do as he shall thinke best.

Blamyng other, how it is saied.

Blamyng other for the faulte doen, is when wee saie that the accused persone, would neuer haue doen suche a deede, if other against whō also, this accusacion is intended, had not

Comparyng the faulte.

Saguntines.

Shiftyng the fault from vs

been euill men, and geuen iust cause, of su he a wicked dede.

Comparyng the fault is when we saie, that by slaiyng an euill man, we haue doen a good dede, cutiyng awaie the corrupte and rotten member, for preseruacion of the whole body. Or thus: some sette a whole toune on fire, because their enemies should haue none aduaũtage by it. The Saguntynes beeyng tributarie to the Romaines, slewe their awne children, burnte their goodes, and fired their bodies, because thei would not be subiecte to that cruell Hanibali, and lose their allegiaunce, due to the Romaines.

Shiftyng it frõ vs, is when we saie, that if other had not set vs on, wee would neuer haue attempted suche an enterprise. As often tymes the souldiour saieth, his Capitaines biddyng, was his enforcement: the seruaunt thynketh his Maisters commaundemente, to bee a sufficient defence for his discharge.

The

The ende of the first Booke.

The seconde Booke.

NOw that I haue hetherto set furthe what Rhetorique is, whereunto euery Orator is moste bounde, what the causes bee, bothe in their nature, and also by nomber, that comprehende euery matter, & what places serue to confirme euery cause: I thinke it is moste mete after the knowlege of all these, to frame an Oracõ accordingly, & to shewe at large, the partes of euery Oracion, (but specially suche as are vsed in iudgement) that vnto euery cause, apte partes maie euermore bee added. For euery matter hath a diuerse beginnyng, neither al cõtrouerlies, or matters of weight should alwaies after one sort be rehersed nor like reasons vsed, nor one kynd of mouyng affecciõs, occupied before all men, & in euery matter. And therfore, whereas I haue briefly spoken of thẽ before, I wil now largely declare them, and shewe the vse of theim in euery matter, that cometh in debate, & is nedeful, through reason to be discussed

¶ An entraunce, two waies diuided.

THe first is called a plain beginnyng, when the hearer is made apte, to geue good eare out of hande, to that whiche shall folowe. A beginnyng, what it is.

The second is a priuey twinyng, or close creping in, to win fauor with muche circũstaunce, called insinuacion Insinuacion.

For in all matters that man taketh in hande, this consideracion ought first to be had, that we first diligẽtly expend the cause, before wee go through with it, that wee maye bee be assured, whether it be lawfull, or otherwise. And not onely this, but also we must aduisedly marke the menne, before whom wee speake, the men against whom we speake, and all the circumstaunces, whiche belong vnto the matter. If the matter bee honest, godly, and suche as of righte ought to bee well liked, we maie vse an open beginnyng, and will the hearers to reioyce, & so go through with our parte. If the cause be lothsome, or suche as will not be well borne withall, but nedeth muche helpe, and fauour of the hearers: it shalbe the speakers parte, priuely to get fauour, and by humble talke, to wynne their good willes. Firste, requiryng theim to geue

him the hearing, and next, not streightly to geue iudgement, but with mercie to mitigate, all rigor of the Lawe. Or in a cõplaint made, whiche the counsail shall greuously stomack, to exaggerate it þ more, if we se iust cause to set it forward. And whereas many often tymes, are suspect to speake thynges of malice, or for hope of gain, or els for a set purpose, as who should saie, this I can do: the wisest will euermore clere themselfes, from all suche offences, and neuer geue any token so muche as in them lieth, of any light suspicion.

In accusyng any persone, it is best to heape all his faultes together, and whereas any thyng semeth to make for hym, to extenuate the same to the outermoste. In defendyng any persone, it is wisedome to reherse all his vertues first and foremest, and with almuche arte as maie be, to wipe awaie suche faultes, as were laied to his charge. And before all thynges, this would be wel marked, that, whensoeuer we shal largely talke of any matter, wee alwaies so inuent, and finde out our first enteraunce in the cause, that the same be for euer taken, euen from the nature and bowelles therof, that al thynges, whiche shall first be spoken, maie seme to agree with the matter, and not made as a Shippe mannes hose, to serue for euery legge. Now whereas any long talke is vsed, the beginnyng thereof is either taken of the matter self, or els of the persones, that are there present, or els of them, against whõ the accion is entended. And because the winnyng of victorie, resteth in three poynctes: First, in apt teachyng the hearers, what the matter is, next in gettyng them to geue good eare, and thirdly, in winnyng their fauour: Wee shall make them vnderstande the matter easely, if firste of all we begin to expounde it plainly, and in brief woordes, settyng out the meanyng, make them harken to our saiynges. And by no meanes better, shall the standers by, knowe what we saie, and cary awaie that, whiche thei heare, then if at the firste, wee couche together the whole course of our tale, in as smale roume as we can, either by definyng the nature and substaunce of our matter, or els by diuidyng it in an apte order, so that neither the hearers bee troubled with confoundyng of matter, and heapyng one thyng in anothers necke, nor yet their memorie

Thre thynges moste mete for euery Orator.

To make the hearers to vnderstande the matter.

dulled

dulled with ouerthwarte reherſall, and diſorderly tellyng of our tale. Wee ſhall make the people attentiue, and glad to heare vs, if wee will promiſe thē, to ſpeake of weightie matters, of wholſome doctrine, ſuche as thei haue heretofore wāted: yea, if we promiſe to tell them thynges, cōcernyng either their awne profite, or thaduauncement of their countrey, no doubte wee ſhall haue theim diligent hearers. Or els if thei like not to heare weightie affaires, wee maie promiſe theim ſtraunge newes, and perſwade them, we wil make thē laugh and thinke you not, that thei wil rather heare a fooliſhe tale then a wiſe and wholeſome counſaile? Demoſthenes therfore ſeyng at a tyme, the fondnes of the people to be ſuche, that he could not obtein of them, to heare hym ſpeake his mynde, in an earneſt cauſe, concernyng the wealthe of his countrey: required them to tary, and he would tell them a tale of Robin Hode. Whereat thei all ſtaied, & longed to knowe what that ſhould be. He began ſtreight to tel them, of one that had ſold his Aſſe to another man, whereupon thei bothe went furthe to the nert Market toune, hauyng with them theſaied Aſſe. And the wether beyng ſomewhat hotte, the firſt awner, whiche had now ſold his Aſſe, went of that ſide the Aſſe, whiche kept hym beſt from the heate. The other beyng now the awner, and in full poſſeſſion, would not ſuffer that, but required hym to geue place, and ſuffer him to take the beſt commoditie, of his awne Aſſe, that he could haue, wherat the other anſwered and ſaied, naie by ſaincte Marie ſir, you ſerue me not ſo, I ſold you the Aſſe, but I ſolde you not the ſhadowe of the Aſſe, & therfore pike you hence. When the people hard this, thei laughed apace, and likte it very well. Whereupon Demoſthenes hauyng wonne theim together, by this merie toye, rebuked their folie, that were ſo ſlacke to heare good thinges, and ſo redy to heare a tale of a Tubbe, and thus hauyng them attentiue, perſwaded with them to heare hym, in matters of great importaūce, the whiche otherwiſe he could neuer haue doen, if he had not taken this waie with hym.

To make hearers attentiue

Demoſthenes tale of the Aſſes ſhadowe.

We ſhall get the good willes of our hearers, foure maner of waies, either beginnyng to ſpeake of our ſelfes, or els of our aduerſaries, or els of the people, and company preſent,

To gette the hearers good will.

or last of all, if we begin of the matter it self, and so go thorowe with it. We shall get fauour for our awne sakes, if we shall modestly set furthe our bounden dueties, and declare our seruice doen, without all suspicion of vauntyng, either to the common weale, as in seruyng either in the warres abrode, or els in bearyng some office at home, concernyng the tranquilitie of our coũtrey: or in helpyng our frendes, kynsfolkes, and poore neighbours, to declare our goodnes, doen heretofore towardes them: and lastly, if wee shewe without all ostentacion, aswell our good willes towardes the iudges there, as also pleasures doen for them in tymes paste, to the outermoste of our power. And if any thyng seme to lette our cause, by any misreport, or euil behauior of our partes heretofore: best it were in moste humble wise to seke fauour, and sleightly to aduoyde all suche offences, laied to our charge.

We shall get fauoure, by speakyng of our aduersaries, if we shall make suche reporte of them, that the hearers shall either hate to heare of them, or outerly enuy them, or els altogether despise them. We shall some make our aduersaries to be lothed, if we shewe and set furth, some naughtie deede of theirs, and declare how cruelly, how vilie, and how maliciously thei haue vsed other men heretofore.

We shall make them to be enuied, if we reporte vnto the Iudges, that thei beare themselfes haulte, and stoute vpon their wealthy frendes, and oppresse poore men by might, not regardyng their honestie, but sekyng alwaies by hooke and croke, to robbe poore men of their Fermes, Leales, and money. And by the waie declare some one thyng, that thei haue doen, whiche honest eares would scant abide to heare.

We shall make them to bee sette naught by, if we declare what luskes thei are, how vnthriftely thei liue, how thei do nothyng from daie to daie, but eate, drinke, and slepe, rather sekyng to liue like beastes, then myndyng to liue like men, either in profityng their coũtrey, or in tenderyng their awne commoditie, as by right thei ought to do.

We shall gette good will, by speakyng of the Iudges and hearers: if we shall commende their worthy dooynges, and praise their iust dealyng, and faithfull execution of the law,

and

¶ tel them in what estimacion the whole country hath them for their vpright iudgyng and determinyng of matters, and therfore in this cause needes must it be that they must aunswere their former doynges, and iudge so of this matter, as all good men haue opinion they wil do.

We shal finde fauor by speakyng of the matter, if in handlyng our owne cause, we commende it accordyngly, and dispraise the attẽpt of our aduersarie extenuatyng al his chiefe purposes, so muche as shalbe necessarie.

Now resteth for me to speake of the other parte of Enteraunce into an Oration, whiche is called a close, or priuie gettyng of fauour when the cause is daungerouse, and cannot easely be heard without displeasure. Insinuacion.

A priuy beggynnyng, or creppyng in, otherwyse called Insinuation must then, and not els be vsed, when the iudge is greaued with vs, and our cause hated of the hearers.

The cause selfe oftentymes is not lyked for thre diuerse causes. if either the matter selfe be vnhoneste, and not meete to be vttered before an audience, or els if the iudge hymselfe by a former tale be perswaded to take part against vs, or lastly if at that tyme we are forced to speake, when the iudge is wearied with hearyng of other. For the iudge hymselfe beyng wearied by hearyng, wil be muche more greeued if any thyng be spoken either ouermuche, or els against his likyng. Yea, who seeth not that a wearied man will soone mislike a right good matter? If the matter be so hainouse that it cannot be hearde without offence, (as if I shoulde take a mans parte, who were generally hated) wysedome were to lette hym go and take some other whom al men liked: or if the cause were thought not honest, to take some other in stede therof which were better lyked, til they were better prepared to heare the other: so that euermore nothyng shoulde bee spoken at the firste, but that whiche might please the iudge, and not to be acknowen ones to thynke of that, whiche yet we minde most of al to perswade. Therfore when the hearers are somwhat calmed, we may entre by litle and litle into the matter, and saie that those thynges whiche our aduersarie doth mislyke inthe person accused, we also do mislyke the same.

And when the hearers are thus wonne, we may saie, that all, whiche was saied, nothyng toucheth vs, and that wee myndе to speake nothyng at al against our aduersaries, neither this waie, nor that waie. Neither were it wysedome openly to speake against theim, whiche are generally well esteemed and taken for honest menne. And yet it were not amisse for the furtheraunce of our owne causes closely to speake our fantasie, and so, streighte to aulter their hartes. Yea & to tel the iudges the like in a like matter, that suche & suche iudgement hath bene geuen: And therfore at this time consyderyng the same case, and the same necessitie, lyke iudgement is looked for. But if the aduersarie haue so tolde his tale that the iudge is wholy bent to geue sentence with hym, and that it is well knowne vnto what reasons the iudge most leaned and was perswaded: we may first promise to weaken that, whiche the aduersarie hath made moste strong for hym selfe, and confute that parte whiche the hearers bidde most esteme, and best of all lyke. Or elles we may take aduauntage of some part of our aduersaries tale, and talke of that firste, whiche he spake last: or elles begynne so, as though wee doubted what were best firste to speake, or to what parte it were moste reason firste of all to aunswere, wonderyng, and takyng GOD to witteresse at the straungenesse of his reporte, and confirmacion of his cause. For when the standersby perceiue that the aunswerer (whome the aduersaries thought in their mind was wholly abashed) feareth so litle the obiections of his aduersarie, and is ready to aunswere Ad omnia quaere, with a bolde contenaunce: they wil thynke that they themselues rather gaue rashe credite, and were ouerlighte in beleuyng the firste tale: than that he whiche nowe aunswereth in his owne cause, speaketh without grounde, or presumeth vpon a stomacke to speake for hym selfe without iuste consideracion.

But if the tyme bee so spente, and the tale so long in tellyng, that al menne be almoste weried to heare any more: than we muste make promise at the firste to be very shorte, and to lappe vp our matter in fewe wordes.

And

And if tyme may ſo ſerue it were good when men bee weried to make them ſomewhat merie, and to beginne with ſome pleaſaunt tale, or take an occaſion to ieſt wittely vpon ſome thyng then preſently doen. Myrth makyng good at the begynning

Or if the tyme wil not ſerue for pleaſaunt tales, it were good to tell ſome ſtraunge thyng, ſome terrible wonder that they all may quake at the onely hearyng of the ſame. For lyke as when a mannes ſtomacke is full and can brooke no more meate, he may ſtirre his appetite either by ſome Tarte ſawce, or elles quicken it ſomewhat by ſome ſweate diſhe: euen ſo when the audience is weried with weightie affaires, ſome ſtraunge wounders maye call vp their ſpirites, or elles ſome merie tale may cheare their heauie lookes. Straung thinges ſome tyme nedeful to be tolde at the firſt.

And aſſuredly it is no ſmall commyng to moue the hartes of menne either to mirthe, or ſadneſſe: for he that hath ſuche ſkill, ſhal not lightely faile of his purpoſe whatſoeuer matter he taketh in hande.

Thus haue I taught what an Enteraunce is, and howe it ſhoulde be vſed. Notwithſtandyng I thynke it not amiſſe often to reherſe this one poincte, that euermore the begynning be not ouermuche laboured, nor curiouſly made, but rather apte to the purpoſe, ſeemyng vpon preſent occaſion, euermore to take place, and ſo to be deuiſed, as though we ſpeake all together without any great ſtudie, framyng rather our tale to good reaſon, than our toungue to vaine paintyng of the matter. Enteraunces apt to the purpoſe.

In all whiche diſcourſe, whereas I haue framed all the Leſſons and euery Enteraunce properly to ſerue for pleadyng at the Barre: yet aſſuredly many of theim maye well helpe thoſe that preache Goddes truthe, and exhorte men in open aſſemblies to vpright dealyng.

And no doubte many of theim haue muche neede to knowe this Arte, that the rather their tale maye hange togyether, where as oftentymes they begynne as muche from the matter, as it is betwixte Douer and Barwyke, whereat ſome take pitie, and many for werines can ſkante

Enteraunces apt for Preachers.

abyde their begynnyng, it is so long or they speake any thyng to the purpose. Therefore the learned Clerkes of this our tyme, haue thought it good that al Preachers shoulde take their begynnyng vpon the occasion of suche matter as is there written, declaryng why and wherfore and vpon what consideracion suche wordes were in those daies so spoken, that the reason geuen of suche talke then vtterde, might serue wel to begynne there Sermon. Or els to gather some seueral sentence at the firste, whiche briefely comprehendeth the whole matter folowyng, or elles to begynne with some apte similitude, example, or wittie saiyng. Or lastely to declare what wente before, and so to showe that whiche followeth after. Yea sometimes to begynne lamentablie with an vnfained bewailyng of sinne, and a terrible declaryng of Goddes threates: Sometymes to take occasion of a matter newly done, or of the company there present, so that alwaies the begynnyng be aunswerable to the matter folowyng.

Of Narration.

After the preface & first Enteraunce, the matter must bee opened, and euery thyng lyuely tolde, that the hearers may fully perceaue what we go about. now in reporting an acte done, or vtteryng the state of a controuersie, we must vse these lessons, whereof the firste is to be shorte, the nexte to be plaine, and the thirde is, to speake likely, and with reason, that the hearers may remember, vnderstande, & beleue the rather, suche thynges as shalbe said.

Narration.
i. Briefe.
ii. Plaine.
iii. Probable

Breuitie howe it might be vsed.

And firste whereas we sholud be shorte in tellyng the matter as it lyeth, the best is to speake no more than needes we muste, not rauyng it from the botome, or tellyng bytales suche as rude people full ofte doe, nor yet touchyng euery poinct, but tellyng the whole in a grosse summe. And where as many matters shal neither harme vs, nor yet do vs good beyng brought in, and reported by vs: it were well done not to medle with them at al, nor yet twyse to tell one thyng, or reporte that, whiche is odiouse to be tolde againe. Notwithstandyng this one thyng woulde bee wel considered that in seekyng to be short, we be not obscure. And therfore to make

matter plaine, that all may vnderstande it, the beste were first and formest to tell euery thyng in order so muche as is nedeful, obseruyng bothe the tyme, the place, the maner of doyng, and the circumstaunces thereunto belongyng. Wherin good heede woulde bee had that nothyng bee doubtfullie spoken, whiche maie haue a double meanyng, nor yet anie thyng vtterde that may make asmuche against vs, as with vs, but that al our woordes runne to confirme wholly our matter. And suerly if the matter be not so plainely told that al may vnderstande it, we shall doe litle good in the reste of our report. For in other partes of ỹ Oration if we be somewhat darke, it is the lesse harme, we may bee more plaine in an other place. But if the Narration, or substaunce of the tale bee not well perceyued, the whole Oration beside is darckened altogether. For to what ende should we go about to proue that which the hearers know not what it is? Neither can we haue any libertie to tel our tale again, after we haue ones tolde it, but must streight go furthe and confirme that whiche we haue said howsoeuer it is. Therfore the reportyng of our tale may soone appere plaine, if we firste expresse our mynde in plaine woordes, and not seeke these rope rype termes, whiche betraie rather a foole, than commende a wyse man: & again if we orderly obserue circumstaunces, & tell one thyng after another from tyme to tyme, not tumblyng one tale in an others necke tellyng halfe a tale, and so leauyng it rawe, hackyng & hemmyng as though our wittes and our senses were a woll gatheryng. Neither shoulde we suffer our tongue to runne before our witte, but with much warenesse sette forthe our matter, and speake our mynde euermore with iudgement.

Plainenes how it might be vsed.

We shal make our saiynges appere lykely, and probable: yf we speake directely as the cause requireth, if wee showe the very purpose of al the deuise, & frame our inuention accordyng as we shal thynke them most willyng to allowe it, that haue the hearyng of it.

Probalitie how it might be vsed.

The Narration reported in matters of iudgement shall seeme to stande with reason, if wee make our talke to agree with the place, tyme, thyng, and persone, if we shall showe

Narration in iudgement.

that whatsoeuer we say, the same by al likelyhodes is true, if our coniectures, tookens, reasons, & argumentes be suche that neither in them there appere any fablyng, nor yet that any thyng was spoken whiche might of right otherwyse be taken, and that wee not onely speake this, but that diuers other of good creditie will stande with vs in defense of the same, all whiche reportyng may sone bee lyked, and the tale so tolde, may be thougt very reasonable. Yea, we shall make our doynges seme reasonable, if we frame our worke to natures wil, and seke none other meanes, but suche onely, as the honest and wyse haue euer vsed and allowed, bryngyng in, and blamyng the euil alwaies for suche faultes chiefely, wherunto thei most of al are like to be subiect. as to accuse a spend al, of theefte: a whoremunger, of adulterie: a rash quareller, of manslaughter: & so of other. Sometimes it is good and profitable to be merie and pleasaunt in reportyng a matter, against some maner of man and in some cause. For neither against all men that offend, nor yet against all matters shoulde the wittie alwaies vse iestyng. And nowe for those that shall tel their mynde in the other kyndes of Oratorie, as in the kynde Demonstratiue, Deliberatiue, in exhortyng or perswadyng: the learned haue thought meete, that they must also cal the whole summe of their matter to one especial poincte, that the rather the hearers may better perceiue whereat they leauel al their reasons. As if a Clarke do take in hande to declare Goddes hest, he will after his Entesraunce, tell what thyng is chefely purposed in that place, and nexte after, showe other thynges annexed thereunto whereby not onely the hearers may gette great learnyng, and take muche profite of his doctrine, but he hym selfe may knowe the better what to say, what order to vse, and when to make an ende.

Narration in praisyng and counsel geuyng.

Preachers what order they vse.

Some do vse after the literal sense to gather a mistical vnderstandyng, and to expounde the saiynges spiritually, makyng their Narration altogether of thynges heauenly. Some rehersing a texte particularly spoke, applie the same generally vnto all states, enlargyng the Narration moste Godly by comparyng wordes long agoe spoken, with thynges

ges and matters that are presently done. Notwithstandyng the auncient fathers because they did onely expounde the Scriptures for the moste parte, made no artificiall Narration: but vsed to folowe suche order as the plaine text gaue theim. So that if euery sentence were plainely opened to the hearers, they went not muche farther, sauyng that when any worde gaue them occasion to speake of some vice, they woulde largely saie their mynde in that behaulfe: As Chrisostome and Basile haue done, with other.

The ware markyng and heedie obseruacion of tyme, place, and person may teache al menne (that be not past teachyng,) howe to frame their Narration in all Controuersies that are called in Question, and therfore when presente occasion shall geue good instruction, what neede more lessons? And especially seeyng nature teacheth what is comely, and what is not comely, for all tymes.

Yea what tell I nowe of suche lessons, seeyng GOD hath raised suche worthe Preachers in this our tyme, that their Godly, and learned dooynges, may be a moste iuste example for al other to folowe: aswell for their lyuyng, as for their learnyng. I feare me the preceptes are more in nõber, than wil be wel kepte or folowed this yeare.

¶ Of Diuision.

After our tale is told, and the hearers haue wel learned what wee meane, the nexte is to reporte wherein the aduersarie and wee, cannot agree, and what it is wherin we do agree. And then to part out suche principall poinctes whereof we purpose fully to debate, and laie theim out to be knowen: that the hearers may plainely see, what we wil say, and perceiue at a worde, the substaunce of our meanyng. Now Tullie would not haue a deuision to be made, of, or aboue thre partes at the most, nor yet lesse than thre neither, if nede so require. for if we haue thre chief groũdes wherupon to rest, applyng al our argumentes therũto we shal bothe haue matter enough to speake of, the hearers shal with ease vnderstãd our meanyng, & the whole Oratiõ shal sone be it at an end. Notwithstandyng this lesson must not so curiously be kepte, as though it were synne to make the

Diuision of thre parteg at the most.

the diuision of fower, or fyue partes, but it was spoken for this ende that the diuision shoulde be made of as fewe as may be possible, that menne may the better carie it away and the reporter with more ease maie remember what he hath to saie. Nowe in praisyng, or dispraisyng, in perswadyng, or disswadyng, diuisions muste also be vsed. As if one woulde enuighe against those women that will not geue their owne children sucke, he might vse this deuision. Where as women commonly put their children furthe to nursyng, I will first proue that it is bothe against the lawe of nature and also against Goddes holie wil: Againe I wil showe that it is harmefull bothe for the childes bodie, and also for his witte, lastly, I wil proue that the mother selfe falleth into muche sickenesse thereby.

Women rebuked that nurse not their owne children.

First, nature geueth milke to the woman for none other ende, but that she shoulde bestowe it vpon her childe. And we see beastes feede there youngones, and why shoulde not women? GOD also commaundeth all women to bryng vp their children.

Againe, the childrens bodies shalbe so affected, as the milke is whiche they receyue. Nowe, if the Nurse be of an euil complexion, or haue some hidde disease, the childe suckyng of her brest muste needes take parte with her. And if that be true whiche the learned doe saie, that the temperature of the mynde folowes the constitucion of the bodie, needes must it be that if the Nurse be of a naughtie nature, the childe muste take thereafter. But be it, the Nurse be of a good complexion, of an honest behauiour (whereas contrary wyse Maydens that haue made a scape are commonly called to bee Nurses) yet can it not bee but that the mothers mylke shoulde be muche more naturall for the childe, than the mylke of a straunger.

As by experience, let a man be long vsed to one kynde of drynke, if the same man chaunge his ayre, and his drynke, he is lyke to mislyke it. Lastely for the mothers, howe are they troubled with sore brestes besydes other diseases that happen throughe plentie of mylke. the whiche Physicians can tell, and women full ofte haue felte. Lykewyse in

speakyng

speakyng of fastyng, I might vse this diuision. Firste, it is godly to fast, because the spirite is more free and apter for any good worke. Again it is wholesome, because thereby euill humours are wasted, and many diseases either clerely put awaie, or muche abated of their tirannie. Lastly it is profitable, because men spende lesse money, the lesse bankequetyng that thei vse. Therfore, if men loue either to be wise, godly, healthfull, or wealthy, let thē vse fastyng, & forbeare excesse.

Now vpon a diuision, there might also be made a subdiuision, as where I saie, it is godly to fast, I might diuide godlinesse, into the hearyng of Goddes worde, into praiyng deuoutly, and charitable dealyng with all the worlde.

Again, speakyng of healthe, I mighte saie that the whole body, is not onely more lustie with moderate fastyng, but also more apte for al assaies. The learned man studieth better when he fasteth, then when he is full. The coūsailor heareth causes with lesse pain beyng emptie, then he shalbe after a full gorge.

Again, whereas the fiue senses, bryng vs to the knowlege of many thynges: the more apte that euery one is, the more pleasure thei bryng euer with thē. The yes se more clerely, the eares heare more quickely, the tōgue rouleth more roūdly, and tasteth thinges better, and the nose smelleth euill sauours the soner.

Philosophie is diuided into the knowlege of thynges naturall, thynges morall, and into that arte, whiche by reason findeth out the truthe, commonly called Logique. Nowe of these three partes of Philosophie, I might make other three subdiuisions, and largely set them out. But these maie suffice for this tyme. Philosophie diuided.

Of Propositions.

Quintilian willeth, that streight and immediatly after the Narracion, there should also be vsed suche sentences, as might bee full of pithe, and contein in thē the substance of muche matter, the rather that the hearers maie be stirred vpō the only report, of some sentencious saiyng, or weightie text in the law. As in speakyng largely against extorciō, one might after his reasons applied

to the purpose, bryng in a pithie and sentencious proposicion as thus. Those handes are euill that scratche out the eyes: and what other dooe thei, that by force robbe their Christian brethrē? Wo be to that realme, where might outgoeth right Or thus, whē rage doth rule, and reason doeth waite, what good mā can hope to liue long in rest. Also an act of a realme maie wel serue to make a propolicion. As thus. The lawe is plain: that man shall dye as an offendour, whatsoeuer he bee that breaketh vp another mannes house, and seketh by spoyle to vndo his neighbour. Now here is no man that doubteth, but that thou hast doen this deede, therfore, what nedes anymore, but that thou muste suffer, accordyng to the lawe? In diuidyng a matter, propositiōs are vsed, and orderly applied for the better setting furth of the cause. As if I should speke of thankfulnesse, I might first shewe, what is thankfulnesse, next how nedefull it is, and last, how commendable and profitable it is vniuersally? Thankfulnesse is a kynde of remē-bryng good will shewed, and an earnest desire to requite the same. Without thankfulnesse, no man would do for another. The brute beastes haue these properties, and therefore man cannot want thē, without his greate rebuke. Some propositions are plain spoken, without any cause, or reason added therunto. As thus. I haue charged this man with felony, as you haue hard, but he denieth it: therfore iudge you it, I pray you. Sometymes a cause is added, after the allegyng of a propolicio. As thus, I haue accused this man of felonie, because he tooke my purse by the high waie side, and therfore I call for iustice. Thus propositions might bee gathered, nexte and immediately after the rehersall of any cause, and beautifie muche the matter, beyng either alleged with the cause annexed, or els beyng plainly spoken, without geuyng any reason to it at all.

Thankfulnes, what it is.

Diuision of propositions.

Of confirmacion in matters of iudgement.

When we haue declared the chief poyntes, whereunto wee purpose to referre all our reasons, wee muste heape matter and finde out argumentes, to confirme the same to the outermoste of our power, makyng firste the strongest reasons that wee can, and nexte after,

after, gatheryng all probable causes together, that beeyng in one heape, thei maie seme strong, and of greate weighte. And whatsoeuer the aduersarie hath saied against vs, to answere thereunto, as tyme and place beste maie serue. That if his reasons be light, and more good maie bee doen in confutyng his, then in confirmyng our awne: it were best of all to sette vpon hym, and putte awaie by arte, all that he hath fondely saied without witte. For prouyng the matter, and searchyng out the substaunce, or nature of the cause, the places of Logique muste helpe to sette it forward. But when the persone shalbe touched, and not the matter, we must seke els where, and gather these places together.

Causes of cõfirmacion two waies vsed.

i. The name.
ij. The maner of liuyng.
iij. Of what house he is, of what countre and of what yeres.
iiij. The wealthe of the man.
v. His behauiour or daily enuryng with thynges.
vi. What nature he hath.
vij. Whereunto he is moste geuen.
viij. What he purposeth frõ tyme to tyme.
ix. What he hath doen heretofore.
x. What hath befaulne vnto hym heretofore.
xi. What he hath confessed, or what he hath to saie for hymself.

IN well examinyng of all these matters, muche maie be said, & greate likelihodes maie be gathered, either to or fro, the whiche places I vsed heretofore, when I spake of matters in iudgement, against the accused souldiour. Now in tryng the truth, by reasons gathered of the matter: we must first marke what was doen at that time by the suspected persone, when suche and suche offences wer committed. Yea, what he did, before this acte was dooen. Again, the tyme muste bee marked, the place, the maner of doyng, and what hart he bare hym. As thopportunitie of doyng

and the power he had to do this deede. The whiche all sette together, shal either acquitte him, or finde him giltee. These argumentes serue to confirme a matter in iudgement, for any hainous offence. But in the other causes which are occupied, either in praisyng, or dispraisyng, in perswadyng, or disswadyng, the places of confirmacion, be suche as are before rehersed, as when wee commende a thyng, to proue it thus.

Honest
Profitable.
Easie.
Necessarie.
} to be doen.

And so of other in like maner, or els to vse in stede of these, the places of Logique. Therefore, when we go aboute to confirme any cause, wee maie gather these groundes aboue rehersed, and euen as the case requireth, so

Confutacion. fraime our Reasones. In confutyng of causes, the like maie be had, as we vsed to proue: if we take the contrarie of thesame. For as thynges are alleged, so thei maie be wrested, and as houses are buylded, so thei maie bee ouerthrowen. What though many coniectures be gathered, & diuerse matters framed, to ouerthrowe the defendaunt: yet witte maie finde out bywaies to escape, and suche shiftes maie be made either in auoydyng the daunger, by plain denial, or els by obiections, and reboundyng again of reasons made, that small harme shall turue to the accused persone, though the presũptions of his offence be greate, and he thought by good reason to be faultie. The places of Logique, as I saied, cannot be spared, for the confirmacion of any cause. For, who is he, that in confirmyng a matter, wil not know the nature of it, the cause of it, the effect of it, what is agreyng therunto, what likenesse there is betwixt that, and other thinges, what exãples maie bee vsed, what is contrary, and what can be saied against it. Therefore, I wishe that euery manne should desire and seke to haue his Logique perfect, before he looke to profite in Rhetorique, considcryng the grounde and confirmaciõ of causes, is for the moste part gathered out of Logique.

Places of Logique moste nedefull.

De

¶ Of conclusion.

A Conclusion is the handsome lappyng vp together, and brief heappyng of all that, whiche was saied before, stirryng the hearers by large vtteraunce, and plentifull gatheryng of good matter, either the one waie, or the other. Conclusion, what it is.

There are twoo partes of a conclusion, the one resteth in gatheryng together briefly, all suche argumentes as wer before rehersed, reportyng the cõme of them, in as fewe wordes as can be, and yet after suche a sorte, that muche varietie be vsed, bothe when the rehersall is made, as also after the matter is fully reported. For, if the repetition should bee naked, and onely set furthe in plain woordes, without any chaunge of speache, or shift of Rhetorique: neither should the hearers take pleasure, nor yet the matter take effect. Therfore, when the Oratour shall touche any place, whiche maie geue iuste cause to make an exclamation, & stirre the hearers to be sory to bee glad, or to be offended: it is necessary to vse arte to the outermoste. Or when he shall come to the repeatyng of an heinous acte, and the maner thereof: he maie set the Judges on fire, and heate them earnestly against the wicked offendor. Thus in repeatyng, arte maie bee vsed, and nexte with the onely rehersall, matters maie bee handesomely gathered vp together. Conclusion, of twoo sortes.

The other part of a conclusion resteth, either in augmentyng and vehemently enlargyng that, whiche before was in fewe wordes spoken, to set the Judge or hearers in a heate: or els to mitigate and asswage displeasure conceiued, with muche lamentyng of the matter, and mouyng theim thereby the rather to shewe mercie. Amplification is of twoo sortes, whereof I will speake more at large, in the nexte Chapiter. The one resteth in wordes, the other in matter. Suche wordes muste ber vsed, as be of greate weight, wherein either is some Metaphore, or els some large vnderstandyng is conteined. Yea, wordes that fill the mouthe, and haue a sound with them, set furthe a matter very well. And sometymes wordes twise spoken, make the matter appere greater.

Again, when we firste speake our mynde in lowe wordes,

and

& after vse weightier, the fault likewise semeth to be greater As whē one had killed a gentleman, thus might another amplifie his mynd. For one slaue to strike another, wer worthy of punishement, but what deserueth that wretche, whiche not onely striketh a manne, but striketh a gentlemanne, and not onely striketh a gentleman, bnt cowardly killeth a gentlemanne, not geuyng hym one wounde, but geuyng hym twentie. To kill any manne in suche sorte, deserueth deathe, but what sale you to him, that not onely killeth hym so, but also hangeth hym moste spitefully vpon a tree. And yet not content with that, but scourgeth hym, and mangeleth hym whē he is dedde, and last of all, maketh a iest of his moste naughtie deede, leauyng a writyng there, aboute the dedde mannes necke. Now then seyng his cruelitee is suche, that thonly killyng, cannot content his deuilishe deede, and moste dedly malice: I aske it for Gods loue, and in the waie of Justice, that this wicked Deuill, maie suffer worthy death, and bee punished to the exaumple of all other. Amplifiyng of the matter, consisteth in heappyng, and enlargyng of those places, whiche serue for confirmacion of a matter. As the definicion, the cause, the consequent, the contrary, the exaumple, and suche other.

Again, amplificacion maie be vsed, whē we make the law to speake, the dedde persone to make his complaint, the cōtrey to crie out of suche a deede. As if some worthy manne wer cast awaie, to make the countrey saie thus: If England could speake, would she not make suche, & suche cōplaints: if the walles of suche a citee or toune, had a tongue, would thei not talke thus and thus? And to bee shorte, all suche thynges should be vsed, to make the cause seme greate, whiche concerne God, the commō weale, or the lawe of nature. For if any of these three bee hindered, we haue a large fielde to walke in. In prayseyng, or dispraisyng, wee muste exaggerate those places towardes the ende, whiche make menne wonder at the straungenesse of any thyng. In perswadyng, or disswadyng, the rehersall of commoditees, and heappyng of exaumples together, encrease muche the matter. It were a greate labour to tell all the commoditees, and all the propertees

perties, whiche belong vnto the conclusion. For suche arte maie bee vsed in this behalfe, that though the cause bee very euill, yet a wittie manne maie gette the ouerhande, if he bee cunnyng in his faculte.

The Athenians therfore did streightly forbid by a lawe, to vse any conclusion of the cause, or any enterance of the matter to wynne fauour. Cicero did herein so excell, that lightly he gotte the victorie in all matters, that euer he tooke in hande. Therefore as iuste praise ariseth by this parte, so I doubte not, but the wittiest will take moste paines in this behalf, and the honest, for euer will vse the defence of moste honest matters. Weapons maie bee abused for murder, and yet weapons are onely ordeined for saufgard. Athenians for bad conclusiõs

¶ Of the figure amplificacion.

Among all the figures of Rhetorique, there is no one that so muche helpeth forwarde an Oracion, and beautifieth the same with suche delitefull ornamentes, as dooeth amplificacion. For if either wee purpose to make our tale appere vehemente, to seme pleasaunt, or to be well stored with muche copie: nedes must it be that here we seke helpe, where helpe chiefly is to be had, and not els where. And nowe because none shall better bee able, to amplifie any matter then those, whiche beste can praise, or moste dispraise any thyng here vpon yearth, I thinke it nedefull, firste of all to gather suche thynges together, whiche helpe best this waie. Therefore in praisyng, or dispraisyng, we muste bee well stored euer with suche good sentences, as are oftẽ vsed in this our life, the whiche through arte bryng encreased, helpe muche to perswasion. As for example, where it is saied (ientle behauioure wynneth good will, and clerely quencheth hatered) I mighte in commendyng a noble ientlemanne for his lowlinesse, declare at large howe commendable, and howe profitable a thyng, ientle behauioure is, and of the other side, how hatefull and howe harmefull, a proude disdainfull manne is, and howe beastly a nature he hath, that beeyng but a manne, thinketh hymself better then any other manne is, and also ouer good to haue a matche Amplificacion

or

Lowlineſſe. or felowe in this life. As thus, if lowelineſſe and Charitee maintayne life, what a beaſte is he, that throughe hatered will purchace deathe? If God warneth vs to loue one another, and learne of him to be gentle, because he was lytle and humble in harte: howe cruell are thei, that dare withstande his commaundement? If the subiect rebell against his kyng, we crie with one voyce, hang hym, hang hym, and shall wee not thynke hym worthy the vilest death of all, that beeyng a creature, contempneth his creatour, beyng a mortall manne neglecteth his heauenly maker, beyng a vile moulde of claie, setteth lighte by so mightie a God, and euer liuyng Kyng? Beastes and birdes without reason, loue one another, thei shroude, and thei flocke together, and shall men endued with suche giftes, hate his euen christian, and eschewe companie? When Shepe dooe straie, or cattell doo striue one against another, there are Dogges ready to call them in, yea, thei will bite them (as it hath been full often seen) if twoo fight together: and shall man wante reason, to barke against his lewde affeccions, or at the least shal he haue none to checke hym for his faultes, and force him to forgeue? Likewise if you would rebuke one that geueth eare to backbiters and slaunderers, ye muste declare what a greate mischief an euill tongue is, what a poysone it is, yea, what a murder, to take a mannes good name from hym. We compte hym worthy death, that poysoneth a mannes body, and shal not he suffer the like pain that poysoneth a mannes honestie, and seketh to obscure and darken his estimacion? Menne bee well accepted emong the wise, not for their bodies, but for their vertues. Now take a waie the thyng, whereby menne are commended: and what are menne, other then brute beastes? For beastes do nothyng against nature, but he that goeth against honestie, the same manne fighteth against nature, whiche would that all menne should liue well. When a manne is killed secretly, wee aske Judgement for the offendour, and shall thei escape without Judgement, that couertly murder a mannes soule? That separate hym from GOD, that Judge hym to helle, whose life hath euer been moste heauenly? When oure purse is piked, we make streight searche for it agayne, and emprisone

Backbityng.

the

the offendoure, and shall we not seke recouerye of our good name, when cupll tongues haue stayned it? If our fame be of more price, then is either golde or grotes, what meane we to be so careleſſe in keppynge the one, and so carefull in kepynge the other? Fonde is his purpoſe that beinge in the rayne, casteth his garmente in a Bushe, and standeth naked him selfe, for saupnge the gloſſe of his gaye coate. And yet what other thing do they that esteme the loſſe of money, for greate lacke: and counte not the loſſe of their honestie for anye waunte at all? Thus we see, that from vertues and vyces, suche amplifications maye be made, and no doubt he that can prayſe or diſprayſe anye thinge plentifullye, is able moſte copiouſlye to exaggerate anye matter.

Sentences gathered to help Amplificatiõ

Agayne, sentences gathered and heaped together commende muche the matter. As if one shoulde saye: Reuengemente belongeth to God alone, and therby exhorte menne to patience: He myghte bringe in these sentences with him, and geue greate cause of muche matter. No man is hurte but of him selfe, that is to saye: aduerſitie or wronge ſuffering is no harme to him that hathe a constaunt harte, and liues vpright in all his doynges.

Reuengemẽte forbidden.

He is more harmed that dothe wronge, then he that hath ſuffereth wronge.

He is the stowter that contemneth, then he is that committeth wronge.

Yea, he gayneth not a little, that had rather ſuffer much loſſe, then trye his ryght by contention.

Gaine gotte by fraude, is harme and no gaine.

There is no greater victorye, then for manne to rule hys affections.

It is a greater matter to ouercome anger, then to winne a foꝛtreſſe or a tower.

There is no greater token of a noble harte, then to contemne wronge.

He that requiteth cuill for cuill: throughe hatred of an euil manne, is made cupll hym selfe, and therfore worthy to be hated.

He that contemneth his enemye in battayle, is counted

a goodman of warre, and a wise.

He that requiteth good for euill, is an aungell of God.

He that mindeth reuengemente, is at the next doore to manslaughter.

God is moued wyth nothynge soner to forgeue vs oure offences, then if we for his sake forgeue one another.

The requitinge of iniuries hath no ende.

Strife is best ended throughe Pacience

Anger is a madnesse, differing from it in this point only, that anger is shorte, and tarieth not longe, madnesse abideth still.

It is folye to suffer the fome of a horse, or the striking of his fote, and not abyde anye thynge that a foole dothe, or a noughtye disposed felowe speaketh.

No man trusteth a dronkard: And yet seyng the dronkēnes of rage, and madnesse of anger, are much more daungerous then surfetinge with wyne: he dothe folyshely that trusteth his owne wytte anye thynge, when he is in a rage. Good dedes shoulde all waies be remembred, wronge doing shoulde sone be forgeuen, and sone be forgotten.

Liberality cōmended wyth heapes of sentences.

Againe for liberalitye, these sentences might serue. It is the propertie of a God to helpe man. He hathe receyued a good turne by geuynge, that hath bestowed his liberalitye vpon a worthye man.

He geueth twise, that geueth sone and chearefully.

God loueth the gladde geuer.

It is a poynete of liberalitie, sometymes to lose a good turne.

He that geueth to hym that wyll euyll vse it, geueth no good thing, but an euil thing.

Nothyng is more safelye layed vp, then is that whiche is bestowed vpon good folke.

Be not afrayed to sowe good fruite.

Nothinge is better geuen to Christe, then is that whiche is geuen to the pore.

No one man is borne for him selfe.

He is unworthye to haue, that hath onelye for him selfe.

The

The thirde kinde of Amplifiynge is when wee gather suche sentences as are communelye spoken, or elles vse to speake of suche thynges as are notable in thys lyfe. Of the first these maye be examples. In lamenting the miserye of wardeshyppes, I might saie it is not for noughte so communely said: I wil handle you like a warde. She is a steppe mother to me: that is to saye, she is not a naturall mother: who is worse shodde then the shomakers wife: that is to saye: gentilmens children full ofte are kepte but meanelye. Trotte sire, and trotte damme, how should the fole amble, that is, when bothe father and mother were nonghte, it is not like that the childe wil proue good, without an especial grace of God.

Prouerbes alleged, helpe Amplificatiō.

Likerysshe of tongue, lighte of taile: that is, he or she that will fare dainctelye, will ofte liue full wantonlye. Sone ripe, sone rotten. Honoure chaungeth maners. Enoughe is as good as a feaste. It is an euill coke that can not lieke his owne fingers. I will soner truste mine eye, then myne eare. But what nede I heape all these together, seynge Heywodes Prouerbes are in prynte, where plentye are to be hadde: whose paynes in that behalfe, are worthye immortall prayse.

Thynges notable in this life are those, the which chaunce to fewe. As this: To see a man of an hundred yeres of age. A yonge chylde as sober as a man of fiftye yeres. A woman that hath hadde. xviij. chyldren. A man once worthe three or foure thousande pownde, now not worthe a grote. A yong man fayrer then anye woman. A woman that hath had seuē or eyght husbandes. A man able to draw a yarde in his bow besides the feathers. A man merye nowe, and deade wythin halfe an houre after. There is none of all these, but serue muche to make oure talke appeare vehemente, and encrease the weight of communication. As for example, If one woulde perswade an olde man to contemne the vanities of thys worlde, he might vse the examples of sodayne death, & shew that childrē haue dyed in their mothers lappe, some in their cradell, some stryplinges, some elder, & that not one emonge a thousande commeth to thre score yeres.

Thynges notable or straunge, helpe forward Amplification.

Or be it that some lyue an hundred yeares, beyonde the which not one in this last age passeth, what is there in this lyfe, for the whiche anye manne shoulde desire to liue longe, seynge that olde age bringeth this onelye commoditye wyth it, that by longe liuinge, we see many thinges, that we would not see, and that manye a manne hath shortened his life, for wearines of this wretched worlde. Or what thoughe some pleasures are to be hadde in this life, what are they al to the pleasures of the lyfe to come? Lykewise in speakinge of euill happe, I myght brynge him in that was once worthe three thousande pounde, and is not nowe worthe three grotes, and perswade menne either to set lyghte by riches, or elles to comforte theim, and perswade theim not to take thought, seyng great harmes haue happened to other heretofore, and time maye come when God will sende better. These sentences aboue rehearsed, being largely amplified, encrease much any suche kinde of matter.

Whhat is amplification.

Amplification is a figure in Rhetorique, which consisteth moste in Augmentynge and diminishynge of anye matter, and that diuers wayes.

The deuision of Amplification.

All Amplification and diminishynge eyther is taken oute of the substaunce in thinges, or els of wordes. Oute of the substaunce and matter, affections are deriued: oute of wordes, suche kindes of amplification, as I wyl nowe shewe, and partly haue shewed before, when I spake of the Conclusion, or lappynge vp of anye matter.

The firste kinde of Amplification is, when by chaunging a woorde, in augmentynge we vse a greater, but in diminishynge, we vse a lesse. Of the firste, this may be an example. When I see one sore beaten, to saye he is slayne: to call a naughtye felowe, thiefe, or hangemanne, when he is not knowen

knowen to be anye suche. To call a woman that hathe made a scape, a commune harlot: to call an Alehouse haunter, a dronkarde: to call one that is troubled with choler, and often angrye, a madde manne: to call a pleasaunte gentilman, a raylynge iester: to call a couetous man, a deuill.

Of the latter, these examples shalbe: when one hath sore beaten his felowe, for the same manne to saye that he hathe scant touched him: When one hath sore wounded another, to saye that he hurt him but a little: when one is sore sicke, to be saide he is a little craced. In lyke maner also, when we geue vices, the names of vertue, as when I cal him that is a cruell or merciless man, somewhat soore in iudgement. When I call a naturall foole, a playne symple man: when I call a notable flatterer, a fayre spoken man: a glutton, a good felowe at hys table: a spende all, a liberall gentilman: a snudge, or pynche penye, a good husbande, a thryftye man. Diminution

Nowe in all these kindes, where woordes are amplified, they seme muche greater, if by correction the sentence be vtterde, and greater woordes compared with them, for whome they are vtterde. In the whiche kynde of speache, we shal seme as thoughe we wente vp by stayres, not onelye to the toppe of a thinge, but also aboue the toppe. There is an example hereof in the seuẽth action that Tullie made against Verres. It is an offence to bynde a Citezen of Rome with chaynes, it is an haynous deede to whyppe him: it is worse then manslaughter to kyll him: what shall I call it to hang hym vp vpon a gibet? If one woulde commende the authoritye whiche he alledgeth, he myght saye thus. These woordes are no fables vtterde emonge men, but an assured truth lefte vnto vs by wrytynge, and yet not by anye commune writynge, but by suche as all the worlde hathe confirmed and agreed vpon, that it is autentique, and canonicall: neyther are they the woordes of one, that is of the commen sort, but they are the woordes of a doctour in the church of God, and yet not the woordes of a deuine, or doctoure of the commune sorte, but of an Apostle: and yet not of one that is the worste, but of Paule, that is the best of al other: and yet not Paules, but rather the woordes of the holye ghost, speakyng Correction

by the mouthe of Paule. He that loueth to enlarge by this kinde, muſt marcke well the circumſtaunces of thinges, and heappynge them altogether, he ſhall with eaſe eſpye how one thinge riſeth aboue an other. And becauſe the vſe hereof extendeth largelye, I will largelye vſe exampies. As thus. If a gentleman and officer of the kinges, beynge ouercharged at Supper with ouermuche drynke, and ſurfetyng with gorge vpon gorge, ſhould vomite the nexte daye in the Parliamente houſe: I myght enueyghe thus: O ſhameful dede, not onelye in ſighte to be lothed, but alſo odious of all men to be hearde. If thou haddeſt done this dede at thyne owne houſe beynge at Supper wyth thy wyfe and children, who would not haue thought it a filthy dede: but now for the to do it in the Parliamente houſe, emong ſo manye gentilmē, & ſuch, yea, the beſt in al England: beyng bothe an officer of the kynges, and a man of muche aucthoritye, and there to caſte oute gobbets (where belchinge were thoughte greate ſhame) yea, and ſuche gobbets as none coulde abyde the ſmell, and to fyll the whole houſe wyth euill ſauoure, and thy whole boſome with muche filthines, what an abhominable ſhame is it aboue all other? It had bene a fowle dede of it ſelfe to vomite where no ſuche gentilmen were: yea, where no gentilmen were: yea, wher no Engliſh men were: yea, wher no men were: yea, wher no cōpany were at al: or it had ben euil, if he had borne no maner of office, or had ben no publique officer, or had not bene the kinges officer: but being not onely an officer, but a publike officer, and that the kynges officer: yea, & ſuche a kinges, & doyng ſuch a dede: I cā not tel in ẏ world what to ſay to him. Diuers examples maybe inuented like vnto this. As thus, againſte an heade officer in a noble mans houſe, I myght enueigh thus. Now Lorde, what a man is he, he was not aſhamed beyng a gentilman, yea, a man of good yeres, and much aucthoritie, and the heade Officer in a Dukes houſe, to playe at dyce in an alehouſe wyth boyes, bawdes, and verlets. It had bene a a greate faulte to playe at ſo vile a game, emonge ſuche vile perſons, beynge no gentilman, beynge no officer, beyng not of ſuche yeres; But beynge bothe a man of fayre landes, of

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an auncient house, of great authoritie, an officer to a duke, yea, and to suche a Duke, and a man of such yeres, that his white heeres shoulde warne him to auoyde all suche folye, to play at suche a game, with suche roysters, and such verlets, yea, and that in such a house as none come thither but theues, bawdes, and Ruffians: nowe before God I can not speake shame enoughe of him. There is an other kynde of Amplification when vnto the hyghest, there is added some thinge higher then it is. As thus. There is not a better preacher emonge theim all, excepte Hughe Latimer, the father of all preachers. There is no better Latine man within England, excepte Gualter Haddon the lawer.

Againe, we amplifye a matter not ascendyng by degrees, but speakinge that thinge onely, than the whiche no greater thinge can be spoken. As thus. Thou haste killed thyne owne mother, what shall I saye more, thou hast kylled thine owne mother. Thou hast deceaued thy souereine Lord and kinge, what shall I saye more, thou hast deceiued thy souereine Lorde and kinge.

Sometymes wee amplifie by comparynge, and take oure grounde vpon the weakest and least, the whiche if they seme greate, then muste that needes appeare greate, whyche wee woulde amplifie and encrease. As Tullio againste Catiline. My seruauntes in good south, if they feared me in such sort, as all the Citezens do feare thee: I would thinke it best for me to forsake my house. Thus by vsing the lesse first, this sentence is encreased, fewe seruauntes are cõpared with all the citezens, bondmen are compared with free men: Tullie the master, is compared with Catiline the traytour, which was neither lord nor ruler ouer the Citezens: and Tullies house is compared with the Citye.

By comparing of examples, we vse also to encrease oure matter. As thus. Did the Maior of London thrust throughe Jacke Straw beinge but a verlet rebell, and onely disquietinge the Citye: and shall the kynge suffer Capitayne Kete to liue in Englandes grounde, and enioye the fruites of his realme, beinge a most tyrannous traytoure, and such a rebell as sought to ouerthrow the whole Realme?

Here is Jacke Strawe compared with Capitaine Rete, the Citye of London, with the whole Realme, the Maior with the kinge. So that if he which is a priuate person, and hathe no power of deathe, myghte punyshe wyth deathe the disquietynge of a Citye: the kynge him selfe hauynge all power in his hande, maye iustelye punishe hym that seketh to ouerthrowe his whole realme.

The places of Logique helpe ofte for Amplification. As, where men haue a wronge opinion, and thynke theft a greater faulte then slaunder, one myght proue the contrarye aswell by circumstaunces, as by argumentes. And first he might shewe that slaunder is theefte, and that euerye slaunderer is a thiefe. For as well the slaunderer as the thiefe, doe take away an other mannes possession againste the owners will. After that he might shewe that a slaunderer is worse then anye thiefe, because a good name is better then all the goodes in the worlde: and that the losse of money maye be recouered, but the losse of a mannes good name, can not be called backe againe, and a theefe maye restore that agayne whiche he hath taken awaye, but a slaunderer can not geue a man his good name againe, whiche he hath taken frō him. Agayne, he that stealeth goodes or cattell, robbes onely but one man, but an euill tongued man infecteth all their mindes: vnto whose eares this reporte shall come.

Slaunder, a greater offāce then theefte

Besides this, there are lawes & remedies to subdue theues: but there is no lawe agaynste an euyll tongue. Agayne, all suche haynous Offences are euer the more greuously punished, the more closlie, and more craftelye they are committed. As it is thought a greater faulte to kyll one with poyson, then to kyll him with the swerde, and a more haynous offence to cōmit murder, then to cōmit māslaughter: we maye gather an argument also from the instrumente or maner of doyng. As a theefe hath done this offence wyth hys hande, a slaunderer hath done it with his tongue. Agayne, by the iudgement of al menne, enchauncement is a notable euill: But they that infecte a prynce or a kinge wyth wycked counsayle, are not they more wycked enchaunters, considerynge they doe as muche as if one shoulde Poyson a

Conduite

conduite head, or a Riuer from whence al men featche their water. And yet they do more, for it is a greater fault to poi-son the mynde, than the bodie. Thus by the places and cir-cumstaunces, great matter might be made.

By contrraries set together, thynges oftentymes ap-pere greater. As if one shoulde set Lukes Meluet against Geane veluet, the Lukes wil appere better, and the Geane wil seeme worser. Or sette a faire woman against a foule, and she shal seeme muche the fairer, and the other muche the fouler. Accordyng whereunto there is a saiyng in Logique: Contraria inter se opposita magis elucescunt. That is to say, Contraries beyng set, the one against the other, appere more euident. Therefore if any one be disposed to set furthe chastitie, he may bryng in, of the contrarie parte, whordome, and show what a fouly offence it is to liue so vnclenly, and then the deformitie of whoredome shall muche sette forthe chastitie: or if one be disposed to perswade his felow to lear-nyng and knowlege, he may showe of the contrarie what a naked wretche, man is, yea how muche a man is no man, and the life no lyfe, when learnyng ones wãteth. The lyke helpe we may haue by comparyng lyke examples together either of creatures liuyng, or of thynges not liuyng: As in spea-kyng of constauncie, to showe the Sonne who euer kepeth one course: in speakyng of incõstaunce to showe the Moone whiche keepeth no certaine course. Againe, in younge Storkes wee may take an example of loue towardes their damme, for when she is olde, and not able for her crooked bil to picke meat, the youngones fede her. In young Vipers there is a contrary example (for as Plinie saieth) they eate out their dammes wombe, and so come forthe. In Hennes there is a care to bryng vp their chickens, in Egles the con-trarie, whiche caste out their egges if thei haue any mo then three: and al because they woulde not be troubled with bryn-gyng vp of many. Storkes. Vipers.

There is also a notable kynde of amplification when we would extenuate and make lesse, great faultes, which before we did largely encrease: to thende that other faultes might seeme the greatest aboue all other. As if one had robbed his

maister, thrust his felow through the arme, accõpaned with harlottes, kepte the tauerne till he had been as dronke as a ratte: to say after a large inuectiue against al these offences. Pou haue heard a whole court roule of ribauldrie and yet al these are but fle bitynges in respect and comparison of that which I shal now show you. Who doth not loke for a marueilouse great matter & a most hainouse offence, when those faultes that are thought moste greuouse are counted but fle bitynges in respect and comparison of that whiche he mynedeth to reherse? In like maner, one might exhort ỹ people to godlinesse, and whereas he hath set forthe al the commodities that folowe the same, as in showyng a quiet conscience not guilty of any great faulte, the libertie of spirite, the peace whiche we haue with GOD, the felowship with al the electe, for the seruaunt of Sathan, to be the sonne of GOD the comforte of the soule, the greateneſſe wherof no man is able to conceiue: to say at lengthe, and what can be greater, what can be more excellent, or more blessedful? & yet al these are smal matters if thei be cõpared with the blessed enheritaunce of the euerliuing God prepared for al those that liue Godlie here vpon earthe, fastenyng there whole trust vpon Christe aboue, whiche bothe is able, and will saue all those that cal vnto him with faith. We do encrease our cause by reasonyng the matter and casting our accompt, when either by thynges that folow, or by thynges that go before, or elles by suche thynges as are annexed with the matter, wee geue sentence how great the thyng is. By thynges goyng before I iudge when I see an enuiouse, or hasty man fight with an other as hastie, that there is lyke to be bloudshed. As who should saie, can enuiouse, or hastie men matche together, but that they must needes trie the matter with bloudshedyng? Assuredly it can not be otherwyse but that bloude must appease their rage. Likewyse seeyng two wyse men earnestly talkyng together, I cannot otherwyse iudge but that their talke must nedes be wittie, and concerne some weightie matter. For to what ende shoulde wyse men ioyne, or wherefore shoulde they laie their heades together, if it were not for some earnest cause? What a shame is it for a strong man, of

wyche

muche health & great manhode, to be ouercome with a cuppe of drynke. Frō thynges ioyned with the cause, thus. A woman hauyng her housbande emprisoned, and in daunger of death, soudenly steppe before the Kyng and craued his pardon. Bold was that womā whiche durst aduenture to knele before a Kyng, whose housband had so greuously offended. Though women by nature are fearful, yet in her appered a manly stomake, and a good bolde harte, yea euen in greatest daunger. By thynges that folowe, thus, al England lament the death of Duke Henrie and Duke Charles twoo noble brethren of the house of Suffolke. Then may we wel iudge that these two gentlemen were wonderfully beloued, when they both were so lamented.

There is a kynde of Amplifiyng, when in speakyng of .ij. that fought together, wee praise hym muche that had the worse, because we would the other to haue more praise. Cōsideryng for a man to beate a boye, it were no praise, but for a talle man to matche with an other, that were as talle as hym selfe: that were somwhat worthe. Therfore I woulde haue the Scottes wel praised, whome the Englishmen haue so often vanquished. He that praiseth muche the stronghold of Boleine, must nedes thereby praise kyng Henry the .viij. of England, who by martial power, wonne it, and kepte it al his lyfe tyme. Or thus. Suche a one kepes a marueilouse good house, for the worst boie in his house drynkes one and the same drynke with his master, and al one bread, yea euery one hath his meate in siluer, chamber vessels, and all are of siluer. We iudge by apparel, by armour, or by harnesse what a man is of stature, or biggenes. We iudge by occasion, the goodnes of men, as when they might haue doen harme, thei would not, when they might haue slaine, thei sought rather to saue. Frō the place where one is, encrease may be gathered As thus. Beyng euen in the Court, he was neuer moued to gāmyng, beyng at Rome, he hated harlottes, where there is by report so great plentie as there are starres in the elemēt.

From the tyme thus, he must needes be well learned in the lawes of our Realme that hath been a studēt this thirtie wynter.

From the age: assuredly, he is lyke to be good, for beeyng but a childe he was euer most godlie.

From the state of lyfe: no doubt but he is honest, for beeyng but a seruaunt he lyued so vprightely, as none coulde iustly blame his lyfe.

From the hardenesse of a thyng. That whiche is almost onely proper to Aungels must nedes be harde for man: therefore chastitie is a rare gifte, and harde for man to kepe.

From the straungenesse of a thyng. Eloquẽce must nedes bee a wonderful thyng, when so fewe haue attained it.

Lykewyse notable aduentures doen by a fewe, are more praise worthy than suche as haue been done by a great nombe. Therfore the battail of Muskelborow against the Scottes where so fewe Englishmen were slaine, and so many Scottes dispatched: must nedes be more praise worthie, than if the nomber of Englishmen had been greater.

Vehemencie of woordes full often helpe the matter forwarde, when more is gatherde by cogitacion, than if the thyng had been spoken in plaine woordes. When wee heare one say suche a mã swelled seyng a thyng against his mynd, we gather that he was then, more than half angrie. Againe, when wee heare one saie, suche a woman spittes fier, we gather streight that she is a Deuill. The Preacher thunderde in the Pulpite, belyke then he was metely hoote. But concernyng all suche speaches, the knowlege of a Metaphore, shall bryng men to muche knowlege, (whereof I wil speake hereafter emong the figures) and therefore I surceale to speake of it in this place.

We encrease our cause by heappyng of woordes & sentences together, couchyng many reasons into one corner which before were scaterde abrode, to thentent that our talke might appere more vehement. As when by many coniectures and great presumptions we gather that one is an offendor, heappyng them al into one plumpe, whiche before were sparpled abrode, and therefore did but litle good. As thus: To proue by cõiectures a murder committed, I might thus say against a suspected person. My Lordes do not weye my woordes and sentences seuerally, but consider them all altogether. If

Amplification by coniectures

the

the accused persone here shall receiue profite by this other mans deathe, if his lyfe heretofore hath euer been euill, his nature couetouse, his wealthe most slendre, and that this dead mans gooddes could turne to no mans auaile so muche as vnto this accused person, and that no man could so easely dispatche him, and that this man could by no better meanes compasse his desier, and that nothyng hath been vnattempted whiche might further his naughtie purpose, & nothyng doen that was thought needeless, and seeyng a meete place was chefely sought for, and occasion serued very wel, & the tyme was most apt for suche an attempte and many meanes heretofore deuised to compasse this offence, and greate hope bothe to kepe it close, and also to dispatche it, and besydes that, seeyng this man was seen alone a litle before in the same place, where this other man was slaine, and that this mans voice whiche did slaye hym was hard a litle before in the same place where this other man was slaine, and seyng it is well knowne that this man came home late the same night, and the nexte daie after beyng examined, did answere confusedlie, fearefullie, and as though he were amased, and seeyng al these thynges are partely showed by witnesses, partely by good reason, partely by his owne confession, and partely by the reporte that comonly goeth of hym, whiche by lyke is not spoken without some ground: It shalbe your partes worthie iudges wayng al these thynges together to geue certaine iudgement of hym for this offence, and not to thynke it a matter of suspicion. For it might haue been that thre of foure of these coniectures beyng proued, might geue but onely a cause of suspicion, but whereas all these together are plainely proued by hym, it can not be otherwise but that he hath offended.

It is an excellent kynd of Amplifiyng when thynges encreased, and thynges diminished are both set together, that the one may the rather beautifie the other. As if, when Gods goodnesse towardes vs wer largely amplified, we did streight extenuate our vnthankfulnesse towardes him again. As thus: Seeyng God hath made man a creature vnto his owne likenesse, seeyng he hath geuen hym lyfe, and the spi-

rite of vnderstandyng, endewyng hym with his manifolde graces, and redempng hym not with vile money, but with his owne precious bodie, sufferyng deathe, and blodeshedyng vpon the Crosse, the rather that man might lyue for euer: what an vnthankefull parte is it, yea what an hainouse thyng is it for man so ofte to offende, so ofte to wallowe in suche his wickednesse, and euermore for Goddes louyng kyndnesse, to showe hym selfe of all other creatures most vnkynde:

Lykewyse contraries beyng rehersed and the euil immediatly vtterde after the good, make muche for encrease. As many men now a daies for sobrietie, folowe gluttonie, for chastitie, take leachery, for truthe, lyke falsehode, for gentlenesse, seeke crueltie, for iustice, vse wrong dealyng, for heauen, hell, for God, the Deuill: to whome they will without peraduenture, if Goddes grace be not greater.

¶ Of mouyng affections.

Affections mouyng.

BEcause the beautie of Amplifiyng, standeth most in apte mouyng of affections: It is needefull to speake somewhat in this behaulfe, that the better it may be knowne what they are, and howe they maie bee vsed. Affections therefore (called Passions) are none other thyng, but a stirryng, or forcyng of the mynde, either to desier, or elles to detest, and lothe any thyng, more vehemently then by nature we are commonly wonte to doe. We desier those thynges, we loue them, and lyke them earnestly, that appere in our iudgement to be goodlie, we hate and abhorre those thynges, that seeme naughte, vngodlie, or harmefull vnto vs. Neither onely are wee moued with those thynges which we thinke either hurtful, or profitable for our selues, but also we reioyce, we sorie, or we pitie an other mannes happe.

And euermore there are twoo thynges whiche moue vs, either this waie, or that waie. The matter selfe whiche doth happen, or is lyke to happen: and the person also whome the matter dothe concerne. As for example: If a wicked wretche haue his desertes, we are al glad to heare it, but if an innocent

cent shoulde be cast away, we thynke muche of it, and in stomake repine against wrong iudgement. If an euil man finde muche fauour, we enuie his good happe, yea it greeueth vs, that any suche shoulde haue suche fauour showed: And not onely doe we hate the euil, that are come to any wealth, but also we enuie commonly all suche as come to any preferrement, especially if either they haue been as poore men as we are, or elles came of a meaner house than we haue done. No one man woulde haue any to be better than hym selfe, and euery one enhableth his owne goodnes to deserue lyke dignitie with the best. And whereas some haue gotte before, startyng soubdeinly from an inche to an elle, we spare not to saie that flattery made theim speede, and though they haue muche gooddes, yet are they cleare voide of all goodnes, and therefore muche good may it do theim, we woulde not come by gooddes in suche sorte to wynne al the worlde. for the Deuill and they (saie wee) shall parte stakes with theim one daie. And thus wee can neuer bee content to geue our neighbour a good woorde. Yea though they haue serued right well, and deserued a greate rewarde, wee muste needes finde some faulte with theim to lessen their praises, and saye that though their desertes bee great, yet their natures are nought: none so proude, though fewe bee so hardy: none so enuyous, though fewe so faithfull: none so couetous, though fewe so liberall: none so gluttonous, though fewe kepe suche an house. And thus, thoughe wee graunt them one thyng, yet we will take another thyng as fast againe from theim.

With praisyng: dispraisyng vsed.

Suche a man is an excellent fellowe (saieth one) he can speake the tongues wel, he plaies of instrumentes few men better, he feyneth to the Lute marueilous swetely, he endites excellently: but for all this (the more is the pitie) he hath his faultes, he will bee droncke ones a daie, he loues women well, he will spende Goddes coope if he had it, he will not tarye longe in one place, and he is somewhat large of his tongue. That if these faultes were not, surely he were an excellent fellowe. Euen as one shoulde saie: If it were not for lyeng and stealyng, there were not

an honester man than suche a one is that perchaunce hath some one good qualitie to set hym forwarde. These buttes bee to brode, and these barres be ouer bigge, for looke what is geuen to one by commendyng, the same is streight taken away by buttyng. Therfore suche are not to be lyked that geue a man a shoulder of mutton, and breake his heade with the spitte when thei haue doen. And yet this is many a mãs nature, especially where enuie hath any grounded dwellyng place, whose propertie is alwaies to speake nothyng of o-ther without reproche and slaunder.

In mouyng affections, and stirryng the iudges to be gre-ued, the weight of the matter must be so set forth, as though they saw it plaine before their eyes, the report must be suche and the offence made so hainouse, that the like hath not been seene heretofore, and al the circũstaunces must thus be hea-ped together: The naughtines of his nature that did the deed, the cruel ordryng, the wicked dealyng and malicious handelyng, the tyme, the place, the maner of his doyng, and the wickednesse of his wil to haue doen more. The man that sustained the wrong, how litle he deserued, how wel he was estemed emong his neighbours, howe small cause he gaue hym, how great lacke men haue of hym. Now, if this be not reformed, no good man shal lyue saufe, the wicked wil ouer-flowe al the world, & best it were for sauegard to be nought also, and to take parte with them, for no good man shal goe quiet for them, if there be not spedie redresse found, and this faulte punished to therample of al other.

Description of an euil & wicke offence doen.

Quintiliane coucheth together in these few wordes the ful heape of suche an heauouse matter, by gatherynge it vp after this sorte.

i. What is doen.
ii. By whome.
iii. Against whome.
iiii. Vpon what mynde.
v. At what tyme.
vi. In what place.
vii. After what sorte.
viii. How muche he would haue doen.

If

what is doen.

If one bee beaten blacke and blewe, wee take it grieuously: but if one be slain, we are muche more troubled. Again, if a slaue or ruffine shall do suche a dede we are displeased, but if an officer, a preacher, or an hed ientleman, should vse any slauerie, wee are muche more agreued. Yea, or if a very notable euill man, commit suche an horrible offence, we thynke hym worthy to haue the lesse fauor. If a sturdy felowe be stroken, we are not so muche disquieted, as if a child, a woman, an aged man, a good man, or a chief officer, should be euil vsed. If the offence be committed vpon a prepensed mynde, and wilfully, wee make muche more a do, then if it were doen by chaūce medly. If it be doen vpon an holy daie, or els vpon the daie of Assise, or vpon the daie of a kynges coronacion, or about suche a solempne tyme or if it bee dooen in the nighte, rather then at Moone daies, we make the matter greater, then if it had been dooen at another tyme. In the courte if one strike a man, it is thought greater, then if he should strike hym in the open streate. The maner of dooyng also, doeth muche moue the pacience of mē as if one should cowardly kill one, and strike hym sodainly, he were worthy greater blame, then if he should manfully set vpon hym: or if one kill his felowe secretly with a gunne, he wer worthy more hatred, then if he killed hym with a sword or if he wounded hym sore, or cruelly mangeled hym, we crie out muche more, then if he had barely killed hym. And last of al, if his will had been to haue doen muche more then he did: we encrease our anger against his rage muche more, then euer we would els haue doen.

By whom.

Against whom

Vpon what mynde.

At what time.

In what place

After what sorte.

How muche he would.

Of mouyng pitee.

Nowe in mouyng pitie, and stirryng menne to mercie, the wrong doen must first be plainly told: or if the Iudges haue susteined the like extremitee, the best wer to will them to remēbre their awn state, how thei haue been abused in like maner, what wronges thei haue suffered by wicked doers: that by hearyng their awne, thei maie ye better hearken to others.

Again, whereas all other miseries, that befall vnto man, are greuous to the eare, there is nothing more heinous, then to heare that the most honest men, are soonest ouerthrowen by

thē that are moste wicked, and vertue put to flight, through the onely might of vice. That if the like hath not happened, vnto the hearers of this cause, yet it wer mete to shewe thē that the like maie happē, and so require them to geue iudgement in this cause, as thei would doo in their awne, and remember that harme may chaunce to euery one, that perhappes chaunceth to any one. And no doubt euery man remembryng hymself, and his awne case, will loke well about hym, and geue iudgement, accordyng to right.

Neither can any good be doen at all, when we haue saied all that euer we can, excepte we bryng the same affeccions in our awne harte, the whiche wee would the Iudges should beare towardes our awne matter. For how can he be greued, with the report of any heinous acte, either in stomackyng the naughtinesse of the deede, or in bewailyng the miserable misfortune of the thyng, or in fearyng muche, the like euill hereafter: excepte the Orator himself vtter suche passions outwardly, and from his harte fetche his complaintes, in suche sort, that the matter maie appere, bothe more greuous to the eare, & therwith so heinous, that it requires earnestly aspedy reformacion? There is no substaunce of it self, that wil take fire, excepte ye put fire to it. Likewise no mannes nature is so apt, streight to be heated, except the Orator himselfe, be on fire, and bryng his heate with hym. It is a common saiyng, nothyng kyndeleth soner then fire. And therefore a fierie stomack, causeth euermore a fierie tongue. And he that is heated with zeale and godlinesse, shall set other on fire with like affeccion. No one man can better enuiegh against vice, then he can do, whiche hateth vice with al his harte. Again, nothyng moysteth soner then water. Therefore a weppyng ye causeth muche moysture, and prouoketh teares. Neither is it any meruaile: for suche men bothe in their countenaūce, tongue, yes, gesture, and in all their body els, declare an outwarde grief, and with wordes so vehemently and vnfeinedly, settes it forward, that thei will force a man to be sory with them, and take part with their teares, euen against his will. Notwithstandyng, when suche affeccions are moued, it wer good not to stande long in thē. For though a vehement talke maie

We that will stirre affeccions to other, muste first be moued hymself.

Heate, causeth heate.

A weppyng ye prouoketh moysture.

moue teares, yet no arte can long hold theim. For as Cicero doth saie, nothyng drieth soner, then teares, especially when we lament another mans cause, & be sory w̄ him for his sake

But now that I haue taught men to be sory, I wil attẽpt again to make them mery, and shewe what learned men saie concerning laughter, in delityng the hearers whẽ tyme and place shall best require.

¶ Of delityng the hearers, and stirryng them to laughter.

Laughter mouyng.

¶ Considerying the dulnesse of mannes nature, that neither it can be attentiue to heare, nor yet stirred to like or allowe, any tale long tolde, except it be refreshed, or finde some swete delite: the learned haue by witte and labor deuised muche varietee. Therefore sometymes in tellyng a weightie matter, thei bryng in some heup tale, & moue thẽ to be right sory, wherby the hearers are more attentiue. But after when thei are wearied, either with tediousnesse of the matter, or heuines of the report: some pleasant matter is inuẽted both to quicken them again, & also to kepe theim frõ satietie. But surely fewe there be, that haue this gift in due tyme to chere men. Neither can any do it, whom nature hath not framed, & geuen an aptnes therunto. Some mannes cõtenañce will make pastyme, though he speake neuer a worde Yea, a foolishe worde, vttered by an apte manne, or a gesture straungely vsed by some pleasant body, settes men ful oft vpon a laughter. And whereas some thinke it a trifle, to haue this gift, & so easy, that euery varlet or common iestare is able to matche with the best: yet it appereth that thei, whiche wittely can be pleasant, & when time serueth, can geue a mery answere, or vse a nippyng taunte, shalbee able to abashe a righte worthy man, & make hym at his wittes ende, through the sodein quip & vnloked for̄pe geuen. I haue knowen some so hit of the thũbes, that thei could not tell in ẏ world whether it were beste to fighte, chide, or to go their waie. And no meruaile: for wher ẏ iest is aptly applied, the hearers laugh immediatly, & who would gladly be laughed to scorne? some can pretely by a word spoken, take occasiõ to be right mery. Other can iest at large, & tel a round tale pleasantly, though thei haue none occasion at that tyme geuen. But assuredly

that mirth is more worth, whiche is moued by a word newly spoken, then if a long tale should pleasauntly be told. For asmuche as bothe it cometh vnlooked for, and also declares a quickenesse of witte, worthy commendacion. There are fiue thynges, whiche Tullie noteth, concernyng pleasaunt talke.

i. What it is to delite the hearers.
ii. Whereof it cometh.
iii. Whether an orator may moue laughter
iiii. How largely he maie go, and what measure he must vse.
v. What are the kyndes of sportyng, or mouyng to laughter.

Now to tell you in plain woordes, what laughter is, how it stirreth and occupieth the whole body, how it altereth the countenance, and sodainly brasteth out, that we cannot kepe it in: Let some mery man on Goddes name, take this matter in hande. For it passeth my cunnyng, and I thynke euen thei that can best moue laughter, would rather laugh merily whē suche a question is put furthe, then geue answere earnestly, what, and how laughter is in deede.

The occasion of laughter, and the meane that maketh vs merie (whiche is the second obseruacion) is the fondnes, the filthines, the deformitee, and all suche euill behauor, as we se to bee in other. For wee laugh alwaies at those thynges, whiche either onely or chiefly touche handsomely, and wittely some especiall fault, or fonde behauor in some one body, or some one thing. Sometymes we iest at a mānes body that is not well proporcioned, and laugh at his countenaunce, if either it be not comely by nature or els he through foly, cannot wel set it. For if his talke be fond, a mery man can want no matter to hit hym home, ye maie be assured. Some iest is made, when it toucheth no man at al, neither the demaunder neither the stāders by, nor yet any other, and yet deliteth as muche the hearers, as any the other can do. Now when wee would abashe a man, for some woordes that he hath spoken, and can take none aduauntage of his persone, or makyng of his body, wee either doulte hym at the firste, and make hym beleue, that he is no wiser then a Goose: or els wee confute wholy

wholy his saiynges, with some pleasaunt iest, or els we extenuate and diminishe his doynges, by some prety meanes, or els we cast the like in his dishe, and with some other deuise, dashe hym out of countenance: or last of all, we laugh him to skorne out right, and sometymes speake almost neuer a word but onely in countenaunce shewe our selfes pleasaunt. But how soeuer we make sport, either the delite is vttered by cõtenaunce, or by poynctyng to some thyng, or els shewed at large by some tale, or els occasiõ taken by some word spoken

Mirthe howe many waies it is moued.

The .iij. question is, whether it standeth with an Orators profession, to delite the hearers with pleasaunt reportes, and wittie saiynges, or no. Assuredly it behoueth a mã, that must talke muche, euermore to haue regard to his audience, & not onely to speake so muche as is needfull, but also to speake no longer then thei be willyng to heare. Euen in this our tyme, some offende muche in tediousnesse, whose parte it were to cõfort all men with cherefulnes. Yea, the preachers of God, mynd so muche edefiyng of soules, that thei often forget, we haue any bodies. And therefore, some doo not so muche good with tellyng the truthe, as thei doe harme with dullyng the hearers, beyng so farre gone in their matters, that oftentymes thei cannot tell when to make an ende. Plato therefore, the father of learnyng, and the well of all wisedome, when he hard Antisthenes make suche a long oraciõ, that he starke wearied all his hearers, phy for shame man (q he) dorst thou not knowe, that the measurynge of an oracion, standeth not in the speaker, but in the hearers. But some perhapps wil saie vnto me pascite quantum in uobis est, to whom I answere, estote prudentes. And now bicause our senses be suche, that in hearyng a right wholsome matter, wee either fall a slepe, whẽ we should moste harken, or els are wearied with stil hearyng one thyng, without any change, and thinke that the best part of his tale, resteth in makyng an ende: the wittie & learned haue vsed delitefull saiynges, and quicke sentences euer emong their weightie causes, cõsideryng that not onely good wil is got therby (for what is he that loueth not mirth:) but also men wounder at suche a head, as hath mennes hartes at his commaundement, beyng able to make theim merie when

Preachers.

Platoes saiyng to Antisthenes.

i. Peter. v.

Math. v.

he liſt, and that by one worde ſpeakyng, either in anſwerynge ſome thyng ſpoken before, or els oftentymes, in geuyng the onſet, beyng not prouoked thereunto. Again, we ſe that men are full oft abaſhed, and putte out of countenaunce, by ſuche tauntyng meanes, and thoſe that haue ſo dooen, are compted to be fine men, and pleaſaunt felowes, ſuche, as fewe dare ſet foote with them.

Thus knowyng, that to moue ſporte, is lawfull for an orator, or any one that ſhall talke, in any open aſſembly: good it were to knowe, what compaſſe he ſhould kepe, that ſhould thus be merie. For feare he take to muche ground, and go beyonde his boundes. Therfore, no ſuche ſhould be taunted, or ieſted with all, that either are notable euill liuers, and heynous offendours: or els are pitifull caitifes, & wretched beggers. For euery one thinketh it a better and a meter deede, to puniſhe naughtie packes, then to ſkoffe at their euill demeanoure: and as for wretched ſoules, or poore bodies, none can beare to haue thē mocked, but thinke rather, that thei ſhould be pitied, except thei fooliſhely vaunt thēſelfes. Again, none ſuche ſhould be made any laughyng ſtockes, ỹ either are honeſt of behauiour, or els are generally welbeloued. As for other, we maie be bold to talke with them, & make ſuche game and paſtime, as their good wittes ſhal geue good cauſe. But yet this one thyng, we had nede euer to take with vs, that in all our ieſtyng we kepe ameane, wherin not onely it is mete to auoyde al groſſe bourdyng, and alehouſe ieſtyng, but alſo to eſchue al foliſhe talke, & ruſtin maners, ſuch as no honeſt eares can ones abide, nor yet any wittie man can like well, or allowe.

Jeſtyng when it ſhould bee ſpared.

¶ The diuiſion of pleaſaunt behauiour.

Pleaſauntneſſe, either appereth in tellyng a rounde tale, or els in takyng occaſiō of ſome one worde. The matter is told pleaſauntly, when ſome mannes nature (whereof the tale is tolde,) is ſo ſet furthe, his countenaunce ſo counterfeited, and all his geſture ſo reſembled, that the hearers might iudge the thing, to be then liuely doen, euen as though he were there, whereof the tale was told. Some can ſo liuely ſet furthe another mannes nature, and with ſuche grace reporte a tale; that fewe ſhalbe able to forbeare

Wherthe making, twoo waies vſed.

forbeare laughter, whiche knowe bothe parties, though thei would the cõtrary neuer so fain. Now in counterfeityng after this sort, if suche moderacion be not vsed, that the hearer maie iudge more by hymself, then the pleasant disposed man is willyng fully to set furth: it will not be well liked. For he that exceedeth and telleth all: yea, more then is nedefull, without al repect, or consideracion had: the same shalbe taken for a common iesture, suche as knowe not howe to make an ende, when thei once begynne, beyng better acquainted with bible bable, then knowyng the frute of wisedomes lore.

Pleasantnesse in a saiyng, is stirred by the quicke altryng of some one worde, or of some one sentẽce. But euen as in reportyng a tale, or counterfeityng a manne, to muche is euer naught: so scurrilitie or (to speake in old plain english) knauery in iestyng would not be vsed, where honestie is esteemed Therfore though there be some wit, in a pretie deuised ieste: yet we ought to take hede, that we touche not those, whõ we would be moste loth to offend. And yet some had as leue lose their life, as not bestowe their conceiued iest, and oftentimes thei haue, as thei desire. But shall I say of suche wilfull men, as a Spaniard spake of an earnest Gospeller, that for woordes spoken against an Ecclesiasticall lawe, suffered death in Smithe fielde? Ah miser, non potuit tacere & uiuere? Ah wretche that he was, could he not liue, and hold his peace?

Pleasauntnes in a saiyng.

Again, to iest when occasiõ is geuen, or when the iest maie touch almẽ: it is thought to be against al good maner. Therfore the consideracion of time, & moderacion of pastyme, & seldome vsyng of vile mockes, euen when nede moste requireth, make a difference, and shewe a seuerall vnderstandyng, betwixte a common iester, and a pleasaunt wise man.

Difference betwixte a common iester and a pleasaunt wise manne.

Now the time requireth, to shew what kindes there are of mouyng laughter, & makyng the hearer to be mery: notwithstãding this would first be learned, that out of diuerse pleasant speches, aũcient saiynges also maie be gathred. As for exãple we maie by one worde, bothe praise a faithfull seruaũt and if he be naught, we maie also iest of him, & dispraise him. According to that mery saiyng of Nero, vpõ his man ỹ was light fingered. I haue one at home (q he) emõg all other, to whom

whom there is no cofer lockt, nor doze shut in all my house, meanyng that he was a picklocke, and a false verlet, and yet these wordes might haue been spoken of a faithfull seruaunt.

Pleasaunt answeres made, cõtrary to our lokyng, delite vs muche.

We shall delite the hearers, when thei looke for one answere, and we make theim a cleane contrary, as though wee would not seme to vnderstande, what thei would haue. As when one commyng frõ a faire, and beyng asked in good sadnesse of another, howe horses went there. Marie q he, some trotte, and some amble. And thus beyng deceiued of our lookyng (for who would haue lookte for suche an answere:) we are oft delited with our awne errour. Again, one Pontidius beyng sore greued, that another mã had cõmitted aduoutrie came to a frend of his, and saied sadly: Ah lorde, what thinke you sir of hym, that was taken in bedde of late, with another mannes wife? Marie q the other, I thynke him to be a very sluggard. Põtidius hearyng him saie so, was abashed at the straungenesse of his answere, and lokyng for no suche thyng was driuen to laugh at his awne errour, although before, he was muche greued with thaduouterers moste wicked deede.

One beyng sore greued with the euill behauiour of a certain gentlemã, spake his pleasure largely against hym, wherupon another merie man, dissẽblyng to take his part, said he was an honester mã then so. Yea (q thother) what one thing hath he, wherby to proue himself honest at al? Marie (q the man) he hath the kynges pardon, & what saie you to that?

Diogenes.

Whẽ is it best to dine (q one) to Diogenes? Mary (q he) for a riche man, when he list: for a poore man when he canne.

A noble man that whilome kept a chapell, beyng disposed to serue God, went to his closette deuoutely, and made hym self redy to praie, wherupon one came doune in hast, and said to the Chaunter, you muste begin sir. The Chaunter beyng a merie man, answered thus, as though he were angry. Begin q he? I will begin with none, except thei begin with me And so made the whole Quier, that then was redy for syngyng, to fall streight a laughyng. The whiche is all one, for, syng we, or laugh we, what maketh matter, so we be merie?

wordes doubtfully spoken.

Wordes doubtfully spokẽ, geue oftẽ iust occasiõ of muche laughter. Ah (q a certain man) do you se ponder felowe, & do you

you knowe him? Yea, (quod the other) I knowe him verye well. I shall tell you sir (saide the gentilman) there is not a manne of greater vnderstandinge within this Citye then he is. Tushe it is not so (quod he.) Nay (saide the other) marcke well the bought of his legge, and you shall see hys vnderstandinge worthye to be compared with the beste, and greatest of them all.

Sometimes it is well liked, whan by the chaungynge of a letter, or takinge awaye some parte of a worde, or addinge sometimes a sillable, we make an other meaninge. As one saide that meante full vnhappelye, enueighynge againste those that helde of Christes spirituall beynge in the Sacrament: some (quod he) wil haue a Trope to be in these wordes: This is my bodye: But surely I would wishe the T. were taken awaye, and they had that for their labour, whiche is lefte behinde.

Chaungyng of a letter, or altering parte of a word, or adding a sillable.

What carye you master Person (quod a gentilman) to a Prieste that hadde his woman on horsebacke behynde him, haue you gotte your male behinde you? No syr (quod the Prieste) it is my female.

The interpretation of a worde doth oft declare a witte. As when one hath done a robbery, some wil saye, it is pitie, he was a handsome man, to ye which another made answere you saye truthe syr, for he hathe made these shyftes by hys handes, and gotte his liuyng wyth lyght fingeringe, & therfore beinge handsome as you saye he is, I woulde God he were handsomelye hanged.

Interpretation of a word.

Sometimes it is delightfull when a mannes word is taken, and not his meaninge. As when one hadde sayde to an other (whose helpe he must nedes haue) I am sorye sir to put you to paynes: The other aunswered, I will ease you syr of that sorowe, for I will take no paynes for you at all.

Wordes taken and not the meanyng.

The turning of a word, & denyinge that wherwith we are charged, & aunswering a much worse, doth often moue the hearer. There was one Ballus (as Quintilian dothe tell) whiche seinge a Ladye called Domitia to be very nighe her selfe, spake his pleasure of her. Wherupon she being greued charged hym wyth these woordes, that he shoulde saye she

An aunswere from euyll to worse.

was suche a pynche penye, as woulde sell her olde shone for money, whereupon he aunswered, No forsothe madame(quod he) I saide not so, but these were my wordes, I saide you bought olde shone, suche as you coulde get beste cheape for money.

Snudgynge wittely rebuked.

The Hollanders woordes ars worthye rehearsall, who beynge a pore man(as Erasmus telleth the tale)had a cow or two goyng in the communes, wherupon it happened that an Oxe of a riche mans, who then was Maior of the towne hadde gored the pore mannes cowe, and almoste kylled her. The pore man beingin this case halfe vndone, thought notwithstanding by a wittye deuise to get right iudgement of master Maior for the losse of his cowe, if he gotte nothynge elles, and therfore thus he framed his tale. Sir so it is that my cowe hath gored and almoste kylled your Oxe. What hath she(quod he)by sainte Marye thou shalte pay for him then. Naye (quod the poore man) I crye you mercye, youre Oxe hathe gored my cowe. Ah(quod the Maior)that is an other matter, we wyl talke of that hereafter at more leasure

A wittie deuised tale to get ryght iudgmēt

These woordes were spoken of purpose, but now you shal heare what an olde woman spake of simplicitie. In the dotynge worlde, when stockes were saintes, and dumme walles spake, this olde grandamme was deuoutelye kneling vpon her knees before the ymage of our Ladye. Wherupon a merye felowe asked her what she meante to crouche & knele there. Marie (quod the olde mother) I praye to our Ladye, that she maye praye to her Sonne for me: with that he laughed at her ignorannce. Wherupon she thinkinge that her woordes were spoken amisse, corrected her owne sayinge in this wise. Naye(quod she)I praye to Christe in heauen, that he will praye for me to this good Ladye here.

A beldammes blynd answere

Woordes rehearsed contrarie to that which was spoken, & (as a man would say)ouerthwartly answered, do much abash the opponent, & delite the hearers. As when Sergius Galba being sicke, & therfore keping his house, had appointed certaine of his frēdes to hear a matter of one Libo Scribonius, Tribune of the people, a man muche noted for hys noughtye and vncleane life: this Libo saide to him in this

Woordes ouerthwartly aunswered.

wise. Good Lorde, when shall wee see you Sir abroade, out of youre Parloure. Mary (quod he) when thou kepeste thy selfe oute of an other mannes chaumbre, meanynge that he was ouer familiar with an other mans wife. Thus we se howe and in what maner pleasaunt sawes are gathered and vsed, vpon the occasion of diuers wordes spoken.

¶ Pleasaunte sporte made by rehearsynge of a whole matter

The nature & whole course of a matter being largely set oute with a comelye behauoure doth much delite the hearers, and geueth good cause of greate pastime. And this difference is betwene a iest in a word, and a iest vtterde in a longe tale. That whiche is still deliteful, with what wordes soeuer you tell it, is conteined in the substaunce or nature of a lõge tale: that which loseth his grace by alteration of a worde, is conteyned in the nature of a woorde. They that can liuely tell pleasaunt tales and merye dedes done, and set theim oute as well with gesture as with voyce, leauynge nothynge behynde, that maye serue for beautifynge of their matter: are moste mete for thys purpose, wherof assuredlye there are but fewe. And whatsoeuer he is that canne aptelye tell his tale, and wyth countenaunce, voyce, and gesture, so temper his reporte, that the hearers maye styll take delyte: him counte I a man worthye to be highlye estemed. For vndoubtedlye no man can dooe anye suche thinge, excepte they haue a greate mother wytte, and by experience confirmed suche their comelines, wherunto by nature they were most apte. Many a mã readeth histories, heareth fables, seeth worthye actes done euen in this our age, but fewe can set them out accordingly, and tel them liuely, as the matter selfe requireth to be told The kindes of delitinge in this sorte are diuers: wherof I will set forth many, as hereafter they shall folowe.

Difference betwixt a iest in a word, and a iest in a longe tale.

Sporte moued by tellinge olde tales.

If there be any olde tale or straunge history wel & wittely applied to some mã liuing, al mẽ loue to hear it of life. As if one wer called Arthur, some good felow that

were well acquainted wyth kynge Arthures boke, and the knightes of his rounde table, woulde wante no matter to make good sporte, and for a nede woulde dubbe him knyght of the rounde table, or els proue him to be one of his kynne, or els (whiche were muche) proue him to be Arthure hym selfe. And so likewise of other names, mery panions would make madde pastime.

Deformitie of bodye moueth myrthe.

Oftentimes the deformitie of a mans bodye geueth matter enoughe to be ryght merye, or els a picture in shape lyke an other man, will make some to laughe right hartely. One being greued with an other man, saide in his anger, I will set the oute in thy coloures, I will shewe what thou arte. The other beinge therwith muche chafed, shewe (quod he) what thou canste: with that he shewed him, (pointinge with his finger) a man with a bottell nose, blobbe cheaked, and as redde as a Bouchers bowle, euen as like the other manne, as anie one in all the worlde coulde be. I neede not to saye that he was angrye. An other good felowe beinge merelye disposed, called his acquaintaunce vnto him & said: Come hither I saie, and I wil shewe thee as verye a lowte as euer thou sawest in all thy lyfe before, with that he offered him at his commynge a stele glasse to loke in. But surelye I thynke he loked awrye, for if I hadde bene in hys case, I woulde haue tolde him that I espied a muche greater lowte, before I sawe the glasse.

Augmentyng or diminishynge

In augmentynge or diminishinge without all reason, we geue good cause of muche pastyme. As Diogenes seynge a pretye towne, hauinge a greate payre of Gates at the comminge in: Take hede quod he, you menne of this towne, lest your towne runne out of your gates. That was a maruelous bygge Gate I trow, or els a wonderfull little towne, where suche passage shoulde be made.

A Frier disposed to tell misteries, opened to the People that the soule of man was so little, that a leuen thousande might daunce vpon the nayle of his thumbe. One maruelinge much at that, I praye you master Frier quod he, wher shall the piper stande then, when suche a number shall kepe so small a roume.

Mirth

Mirthe is moued when vpon a trifle or a worde spoken, an vnknowen matter and weightye affayre is opened. As if one shoulde finde fault with some mannes sumptuous buildinge, or other suche thinge: whiche hadde founde muche fauoure at the same mans hande: an other myght saye, well sir, he that builded this house, saued your worship from hanginge when the time was. A nececessarie note for him thākefullye to remembre the builder of that house, & not slaunderouslye to speake euil of him. Openynge a weyghtye or vnknowen thynge

It is a pleasaunt dissembling, when we speake one thing merelye, and thyncke an other earnestlye, or elles when we prayse that which otherwise deserueth dispraise, to the shaming of those that are taken to be most honest. Dissemblynge

As in speakinge of one that is well knowen to be nought, to saye emong all men that are sene to, there is one that lacketh his rewarde. He is the diligentiest felowe in hys callinge of all other, he hath traueyled in behalfe of his countrey, he hath watched daye and night to further his cōmune weale, and to aduaunce the dignitye therof, and shall he go emptye home? Who stode by it at suche a felde, who played the man and cryed, stoppe the thiefe, when suche a man was robbed? Who seeth good rule kept in suche a place? can anye here charge him with bawdrye? Whiche of you all dare saye or can say that euer you sawe him dronke, if then these be true, ought not suche to be sene to: and rewarded accordingelye? For praysinge the vnworthye, I remember once that our worthy Latimer did set out the deuyll for his diligence wonderfullie, and preferred him for that purpose before all the Bishoppes in England. And no doubte, the wicked be more busye and stirrynge, then the children of light be in their generation.

What talke you of suche a man (saythe an other) there is an honest man ye maye be assured. For if a man had neade of one, he is ready at a pynche, his body sweates for honestly, if you come to him in a hotte sommers day, you shal se his honestye in such sort to reeke, that it woulde pitye any christian soule liuinge. He hath more honestye with him then he neades, and therfore bothe is able and will lende, where it

pleaſeth him beſt. Beware of him aboue all menne that e-uer you knewe. He hathe no felowe, there is none ſuche, I thinke he wil not liue longe, he is ſo honeſt a man, the more pitye that ſuche good felowes ſhoulde knowe what deathe meaneth. But it maketh no matter, when he is gone, all the worlde will ſpeake of him, hys name ſhall neuer dye, he is ſo well knowen vniuerſallye.

Thus we maye mockingelye ſpeake well of him, when there is not a noughtyer felowe wythin all Englande a-gayne, and euen as well ſette out his noughtines this way, as thoughe we hadde in verye dede vttered all his noughty conditions plainelye, and without ieſtinge. Emonge al that euer were pleaſaunte in this kinde of delite, Socrates bea-reth the name, and maye worthelye chalenge prayſe. Sir Thomas More with vs here in England, had an excellent gifte not onely in this kinde, but alſo in all other pleaſaunt delites, whoſe witte euē at this houre is a wonder to al the worlde, & ſhalbe vndoubtedly, euen vnto the worldes ende. Vnto this kinde of diſſembling, is nerte adioyninge a ma-ner of ſpeache, when wee geue an honeſte name to an euyll deede. As when I woulde call one accordingly that is of a noughtye behauoure, to ſaye: Ah ſirha, you are a marchant in dede: Wher as I thinke a marchauntes name is honeſt. Some olde felowes whē they thinke one to be an heritique they will ſaye, he is a goſpeller. Some newe felowes when they thinke one a Papiſt, they wil call him ſtraight a catho-lique, & be euen with him at the landes ende. Contrariwiſe ſome will geue an euil name to a good thinge: As a father louynge his Sonne tenderlye, and hauynge no cauſe to be greued with him, will ſometimes ſaye to him: Come hither ſir knaue, and the mother merelye beynge diſpoſed, wyll ſaye to her ſwete Sonne: Ah you little horeſon, wyll you ſerue me ſo. Where as I thyncke ſome womenne that ofte ſo ſaye, will ſweare vpon a booke they are none ſuche, and almoſte I hadde ſayde, I dare ſweare for ſome of theim my ſelfe, if God hadde not forbidden me to ſweare at all.

This Kynde alſo is pretye, when we gather an other

thinge

thinge by a manns tale, then he woulde gladly we shoulde gather. When Liuius Salinator a Romayne capitaine hadde kepte the Castell of Tarentum losinge the towne to Annibal his enemye, and that Maximus therupō had layed siege to the same towne, and gotte it againe by the swerde: then Salinator whyche thus kepte the Castell, delyered him to remember, that throughe his meanes he gotte the towne, Why shoulde I not (quod he) thyncke so: for if you had neuer lost it, I had neuer gotte it. Q. Fabius Maximus.

To dissemble sometymes as thoughe wee vnderstode not what one meant, declareth an apte witte, and much delyteth such as heare it. Diogenes was asked on a time what wyne he loued beste to drincke. Marye (quod he) an other mannes wyne, meanynge that he loued that dryncke beste, that coste him leaste. The same Diogenes likewyse was asked what one shoulde geue hym to lette him haue a blowe at his heade. Marye a Helmet quod he. Diogenes.

One Octauius a Lybian borne (as witnesseth Macrobius) sayde vnto Tullie when he spake hys mynde vpon a matter. Sir I heare you not, I praye you speake lowder. No (quod Tullie) ? that is maruaile to me, for as I do remember, your eares are well bored thorowe, meanynge that he was nayled vpon a Pillarie, or elles hadde holes made in his eares, whyche myght well serue (as Tullie tested) to receiue open ayre.

Whē Mettellus toke muster & required Cesar to be there, not abiding ỹ he should be absent, thoughe his eyes greued him, and said: What man do you se nothing at all? Yes marye quod Cesar, as euil as I se, I can se a lordship of yours the which was .iiij. or .v. miles from Rome) declaringe that (his building was ouer sumptuous, and so howge withall, (muche aboue his degree) that a blind man myght almost se it. Nowe in those dayes ouercostlye building was generally hated, because men sought by suche meanes to get fame & beare rule in the commune weale.

The like also is of one Salica who when he came to the Poet Ennius, and askinge at the gates if Ennius were at

home.

home, the maide of the house, beinge so commaunded by her master, made aunswere that he was not within. And when he perceyued that she so saide by her maisters commaundemente, he wente straight his waye, and saide no more.

Ennius pleasaunt answer to Salica

Nowe shortelye after when Ennius came to Salica and called for him at the doore, Salica cried out alowde & sayde, Sirha, I am not at home: What manne (quod Ennius) I heare the speake. Do not I knowe thy voyce: Then (quod Salica) Ah shameleſſe man that thou arte, when I sought thee at thy home, I did beleue thy maide when she said thou wast not at home, and wilte not thou beleue me when I tel thee myne owne selfe that I am not at home:

A mã mocked with the same he bryngeth.

It is a pleasaunte hearynge, when one is mocked with the same that he bryngeth. As when one .M. Opimius hauinge an euill name for hys light behauoure had saide to a pleasaunte man Egilius that semed to be wanton of liuing, and yet was not so: Ah my swete darling Egilia, when wilt thou come to my house swete wenche, with thy rocke & thy spindle: I dare not in good faith (quod he,) mi mother hath forbidde me to come to anye suspected house where euil rule is kepte.

Those iestes are bitter whiche haue a hid vnderstanding in them, wherof also a man maye gather muche more then is spoken. A homelye felowe made his wofull lamentation to Diogenes in most pitiful sorte, because his wife had hanged her selfe vpon a Figge tree, hopinge to finde some comforte at his hande. But Diogenes hearinge this straunge deede,

Diogenes doggysh aunswer in despyte of women.

For the loue of God (quod he) geue me some slippes of that tree, that I might set them in some orcharde. The frute liked him well, and belyke he thought that such slippes would haue bene as good to dispatche noughtye womenne, as lime twigges are thought mete to catch wild birdes withal

An Archideacon, beyng nothinge so wise as he was welthy, nor yet so learned, as he was worshipfull, asked a ponge man once, whether he hadde a good witte, or no. Yes mary sir (quod he) your wytte is good inoughe if you kepe it still, and vse it not, for euerye thinge as you knowe is the worse for the wearinge. Thou sayest euen truth (qnod he) for that

is

is the matter that I neuer vsed preachyng. for it is nothyng but a waistyng of witte, and a spendyng of wynde. And yet if I woulde preache, I thynke I could do as wel as the best of them. Yea sir (q he) but yet I would ye should not proue it for feare of strainyng your selfe to muche: Why? Doest thou feare that (q he?) nay thou maist be assured, I wil neuer preache so long as I lyue, God beeyng my good Lorde. There are ouer many Heretiques, for good meanyng men to speake any thyng now a daies. You saie euen truth (q the young man) and so went forthe, but to tel al, I had neede to haue tyme of an other worlde, or at the lest to haue breathe of an other bodie.

An vnlearned Oratour made an Oratiõ on a tyme, thynkyng that he had with his wel doyng delited muche al men, & moued them to mercie & pitie, & therfore sittyng doune, he asked one Catulus if he had not moued the hearers to mercie. Yes marie (q he) & that to great mercie & pitie bothe, for I thynk there is none here so hard harted, but thought your oratiõ very miserable, & therfore needful to be greatly pitied.

Churlishe aunsweres, lyke the hearers some tymes very well. When the father was cast in iudgement, the sonne seyng hym wepe: Why wepe you father? (q he) To whome his father aunswered: What? Shall I syng I praie the, seeyng by a lawe I am condempned to dye. Socrates lykewyse beeyng moned of his wyfe because he shoulde dye an innocent and giltelesse in the lawe: Why for shame woman (q he) wilt thou haue me to dye giltie & deseruyng. When one had falne into a ditche, an other pitiyng his fall, asked hym, and said: Alas how got you into that pit? Why, Gods mother (q the other) doest thou aske me how I gotte in, nay tel me rather in the mischief how I shal gette out.

There is an other contrarie vnto this kynd, when a man suffereth wrong, & geueth no sharpe answere at al. As when Cato was stroken of one that caried a chest (some saie a lõg powle) when the other said, after he had hit hym: Take hede sir I pray you: why (q Cato) doest thou cary any thyng els.

Folie and lacke of naturall wit, or els wante of honestie geue good matter of myrthe often tymes. When Scipio be-

yng Pretor had appointed vnto a certaine Sicilian, one to be his lawyer that was of a good house, and had an euill witte, litle better than half a foole: I praie you (q the Sicilian to Scipio) appoint this lawier for myne aduersarie, and let me haue none at al hardely.

wishyng. In speakyng against an euill man, & wishyng somewhat thereupon, a iest may seeme delitefull. When an euill man had accused many persons, and none toke any harme by hym but rather were acquited from tyme to tyme, and taken the sooner for honest men: Now would to Christes passion (q a naughtie fellow) that he were myne accuser, for thē should I bee taken for an honest man also, through his accusacion. Demonides hauyng crooked feete, lost on a tyme bothe his shoone, wherupō he made his praier to God that his shoone might serue his feete that had stolne them away. A shrewde wishe for hym that had the shoone, and better neuer weare shoone, than steale them so dearely.

Coniectures. Thynges gathered by cōiecture to seeme otherwise than they are, delite muche the eares being wel applied together. One was charged for robbyng a Churche, and almost euidently proued to be an offendour in that behaulfe. the saied man to saue hymself harmeleſſe, reasoned thus: Why (q he) how should this be, I neuer robbed house, nor yet was euer faultie in any offence besides, how then shoulde I presume to robbe a Churche? I haue loued the Churche more than any other, & wil louers of the Churche robbe the Churche? I haue geuen to the Churche, howe happeneth that I am charged to take frō the Churche hauyng euer so good mind to church dignitie? assure your selues thei passed litle of the Churche, that would auenture to robbe the Churche. Thei are no Churche men, they are masterlesse men, or rather S. Niclas Clarkes, that lacke liuyng, and goyng in procession takes the Churche to be an Hospitall for waie fairers, or a praie for poore and nedie beggers: but I am not suche man.

Thynges wantyng. Thynges wantyng, make good pastyme beyng aptely vsed. Alacke, alacke, if suche a one had somewhat to take to, & were not past grace: he would doe well enough without all doubt. I warrant hym, he wantes nothyng saieth an other

of a

of a couetouse man but one thyng, he hath neuer enough.

Suche a man hath no fault, but one, and if that were amended, all were well: what is that q̄ an other? In good (faith) he is nought.

To geue a familiar aduise in the waie of pastyme, delighteth muche the hearers. Whē an vnlerned lawyer had been hourese and almost lost his voice with ouerlong speakyng, one Gratius gaue him counsel to drynke swete wine could, so sone as he came home. Why (q̄ he) I shall lose my voice, if I do so. Marie (q̄ he) and better do so, then vndo thy clie̅t and lose his matter altogether. Familiare aduise geuyng.

But emong all other kyndes of delite there is none that so muche comforteth and gladdeth the hearer, as a thyng spoken contrarie to therpectation of other. Augustus Emperour of Rome seeyng a handsome young man there, whiche was muche like vnto hymselfe in contenaunce, asked hym if euer his mother was in Rome, as thoughe he had been his bastard. No forsouth (q̄ he) but my father hath been here very ofte̅: with that themperour was abashed, as though the emperours own mother had been an euil wom̄ of her body Thynges spoken contrarie to erpection.

When an vnlearned Phisicion (as England lacketh none suche) had come to Paulanias a noble Gentleman, and asked him if he were not troubled muche with sicknes. No sir (q̄ he) I am not troubled at al, I thancke God, because I vse not thy counsaill. Why doe ye accuse me (q̄ the Phisicion) that neuer tryed me? Mary (q̄ Paulanias) if I had ones tryed the, I shoulde neuer haue accused the. for then I had been deade, and in my graue many daies agone.

An English Phisiciō ridyng by the way, & seyng a great cōpany of men gatherd together, sent his m̄ to know what the matter was, whereupō his man vnderstandyng that one there was appointed to suffer for killyng a m̄: came ridyng backe in al post haste, and cried to his master, long before he came at him: Get you hence sir, get you hēce for Gods loue. What meanes thou (q̄ his master). Mary (q̄ the seruaunt) yonder man shal dye for killyng of one man, and you I dare saye, haue kilde a hundreth menne in your daies: Gette you hence therefore for Gods loue, if you loue your selfe.

Examples bee innumerable that serue for this purpose.

A lye mocked with a lye.

A man may by hearyng a loude lye, pretely mocke the lye by reportyng a greater lye. When one beyng of a lowe degre and his father of meane welthe, had vaunted muche of the good house that his father kepte, of two Beefes spent weekelie, and halfe a score Tunne of wyne dronke in a yeare, an other good fellowe hearyng hym lye so shamefully: I deede (q he) Beefe is so plētiful at my master your fathers house that an Oxe in one daie is nothyng, and as for wyne, Beggers that come to the dooze are serued by whole gallondes. And as I remēber your father hath a spryng of wyne in the middest of his Court, God continue his good house keepyng.

Graunting to other thesame, that they wil not graunt to vs.

Oftentymes we may graunt to an other, the same that they wil not graunt to vs. When a base born felowe whose parentes were not honest, had charged Lelius that he did not liue accordyng to his auncestors: yea, but thou doest liue (q Lelius) accordyng to thy elders.

Better beborn a begger, than dye a begger.

One beeyng a gentlemen in byrthe, and an vnthrifte in condicions, called an other man in reproche begger & slaue. In dede Sir (q the poore man) you are no begger borne, but I feare me ye wil dye one.

An other lykewyse called Diogenes varlet and caitif, to whome Diogenes aunswered in this wyse. In dede suche a one haue I been as thou now art, but suche a one as I now am, shalt thou neuer be.

Salust.

Salust beeyng a gentleman borne, and a man of muche welth, and yet rather by birthe, noble: than by true dealyng honest: enuied muche the estimacion whiche Tullie had emong al men, and said to hym before his face: Thou art no gentleman borne, and therefore not meete to beare Office in this commune weale: In dede (q Tullie) my nobilitie begynnes in me, and thyne dothe ende in the. Meanyng thereby that though Salust were borne noble, yet he were lyke to dye wretched, whereas Tullie beeyng borne both poore, and base, was lyke to dye with honour, because of his vertue, wherein chefely consisteth nobilitie.

Pleasaunt dissemblyng in outwarde behauiour.

There is a pleasaunt kynde of dissemblyng when twoo meetes together, and the one cannot well abyde the other:

and

and yet they both outwardely striue to vse pleasaunt behauiour, and to show muche courtesie: yea to cõtende on both partes, whiche should passe other in vsyng of faire wordes, and makyng liuely countenaunces: seekyng by dissemblyng, the one to deceiue the other.

Checkyng a lyar with an open mocke.

When we see a notable lye vtterde, we checke the offendour openly with a pleasaunt mocke. As when one Vibius Curius did speake muche of his yeares and made hym selfe to be much yoũger then he was: (q Tullie) why than master Vibius as farre as I can gather by my reckenyng, when you and I declamed together last, you were not then borne by al likelyhoode, if that be true whiche you saie.

When Fabia Dolobella said to the same Tullie that she was but thirtie yeres of age (as women by their good willes would neuer be olde) I thynke so (q Tullie) for I haue heard you saie no lesse, xx. yeres ago.

A Souldiour that thought his estimacion stoude moste in the vertue of his hande gunne, made a marueilouse braggue of it, and said he was able to showte leauel a great deale farther than any one there would beleue hym to saye truth: wherpõ he called for his man to beare witnesse of the same, and asked hym whether it were so, or no. In deede (q his man) you say truth, but then you muste remember Sir, you had the wynde with you when you shotte so farre. Belyke he thought, there woulde neuer come suche a wynde again.

Of dispolicion and aptе orderyng of thynges.

I Haue trauailed hetherto in teachyng the right way to fynde meete matter for euery cause, vsyng suche Arte as my slender witte coulde beste yelde. And now, nexte and immediatly after inuention, I thinke meete to speake of frampng and placyng an Oration in order, that the matter beeyng aptely sattelde, and couched together: might better please the hearers, and with more ease be learned of all men. And the rather I am earnest in this behaulfe, because I knowe that al thynges stande by order,

and without order nothyng can be. For by an order wee are borne, by an order wee lyue, and by an order wee make our end. By an order one ruleth as head, and other obey as mẽbers. By an order Realmes stande, and lawes take force. Yea by an order the whole worke of nature and the perfite state of al the elementes haue their appointed course. By an order we deuise, we learne, and fraine our doopynges to good purpose. By an order the Carpenter hath his Squyre, his Rule, and his Plummet. The Tailour his mette yarde, & his measure: The Mason his former, and his Plaine, and euery one accordyng to his callyng frameth thynges thereafter. For though matter be had, and that in greate plentie: yet al is to no purpose, if an order be not vsed. As for example: What auaileth Stoone, if Masons doe not worke it? What good dothe clothe, if Tailours take no measure, or do not cutte it out? Though Tymber be had for makyng a Shippe, and al other thynges necessarie, yet the shippe shal neuer be perfite, till worke men begynne to set to their handes, and ioyne it together. In what a comenly order hath God made man, whose shape is not thought perfite, if any parte be altered? yea al folke would take hym for a monster, whose feete should occupie the place of his handes. An army neuer getteth victorie, that is not in araie, and sette in good order of battail. So an Oration hath litle force with it, and dothe smally profite, whiche is vtterde without all order. And needes must he wander, that knowes not howe to goe, neither can he otherwyse chouse, but stumble: that gropyng in the darke, can not tel where he is: Yea he must needes both leaue muche vnspoken, repeate often, thynges spoke before, not knowing what, nor wher to speake best: that geues hym selfe rather to take the chaunce of fortune, than to folowe the right way of aduised counsell. What shoulde a man do with a weapon that knoweth not howe to vse it? What though one haue mountaines of golde, what auaileth hym to haue suche heapes, if he cannot tel how to bestow them? It is not enough to haue learnyng, but it is al to vse learnyng. Therefore because this parte of bestowyng matter, and placyng it in good order, is so necessarie: I will showe what

Order of what sorte it is.

what the learned haue saied in this behaulfe so muche as I shall thynke nedeful.

Disposicion what it is.

Disposicion (as Tullie doth define it) is a certaine bestowyng of thynges, and an apte declaryng, what is meete for euery parte, as tyme and place do beste require.

Diuidyng of Disposicion.

There are two kyndes of disposyng, and placyng of matter. The one is when we folowe the appointed rule of Rethorique, the whiche nature doth almost teache vs: The other is wholy fashioned by the discretion of hym that makes the Oration.

Rethorique doeth teache vs, and nature also leadeth vs thereunto, first to speake somwhat before we open our matter, after that to tell the cause of our entent, settyng forthe the matter plainly that al may vnderstand it, then to proue our owne cause by good reason, and to confute all suche thinges as are contrarie to our purpose: last of al, to gather the whole in a somme, concludyng the matter briefely, and so to make an ende. Nowe to place those reasons, whiche shoulde both serue to confirme and to confute, and to tel in what parte of the Oration it were best to vse this reason, and that reason, that the rather wee might proue, teache, and perswade: a right wyse man had nede to take this matter in hande. For euen as the tyme, the place, the iudge, and the matter it selfe shal geue cause: so must a wyse body take his aduantage. Sometymes it shalbe expedient to vse no preface at al, or els when the matter is wel knowne, it will be good to leaue the matter vntolde, and streight to seeke the confirmacion, vsyng some stronge reason for the same purpose. Yea sometymes it may do good to neglecte the naturall order, and begynne firste to proue the cause, and afterwarde to tell it better, than it was tolde before.

Rhetorique what it teacheth, for orderyng of thynges.

If the iudge, or the hearers shalbe wearied with other reportes before, it is beste to goe to the matter, and proue it out

it out of hande with as briefe reasons, and as strong as can be gatherde possible. And in prouyng of our matters, we had nede euermore rather to wate our reasons, than to nõber them, and thynke not that then we shall doe beste, when haue the most, but then looke to doe best, when we haue the strongest. And first of al the strongest should be vsed, and the other placed in the middest of the Oration, the whiche beeyng heaped together wil make a good mustar. And yet this also would be learned, whereas we vsed the best reasons at the first, we shoulde also reserue some that were lyke good, for the later end: that the hearers might haue them freshe in their remembraunce, when they shoulde geue iudgement. The slender reasons that can do lesse good, and yet not all, (for some may better be omitted) woulde bee placed in the middest (as I saied) that bothe they might bee lesse marked, or beeyng heaped there together, they might doe more good, especially when bothe weightie reasons went before, and weightie reasons also, folowed after. Now a wyse man that hath good experience in these affaires, and is able to make hym selfe a Rhetorique for euery matter, will not bee bounde to any precise rules, nor kepe any one order, but suche onely as by reason he shall thynke best to vse, beeyng maister ouer Arte, rather then Arte shoulde be maister ouer hym, rather makyng Art by witte, than confoundyng witte by Arte. And vndoubtedly euen in so doyng, he shal do right wel, and contente the hearers accordyngly. For what mattereth whether we folowe our Booke, or no, if wee folowe witte, and appoint our selfe an order, suche as may declare the truthe more plainely? Yea some that be vnlearned and yet haue right good wittes: will deuise with theim selues without any Booke learnyng, what they wil saie, and how muche they wil say, appointyng their order, and partyng it into thre, or foure partes, or more, if neede be, suche as they shal thynke especial pointes, and most meete to bee touched. Whose doynges as I can wel like, & muche commende them for the same: so I would thynke them muche more able to do muche better: if thei either by learning folowed a Paterne, or els knewe the preceptes, whiche leade vs to right order.

Arguumentes howe they should be digested.

Rules

Rules wer therfore geuen, and by muche obseruacion gathered together, that those whiche could not see Arte hid in another mannes doynges, should yet se the rules open, all in an order set together: & therby iudge the rather of their doynges, and by earnest imitacion, seke to resemble suche their inuencion. I cannot deny but that a right wise man vnlearned, shall doo more good by his naturall witte, then twenties of these common wittes, that want nature to help arte. And I know that rules wer made first by wise men, and not wise men made by rules. For these preceptes serue onely to helpe our nede, suche as by nature haue not suche plentifull giftes And as for other, vnto whom nature is more fauorable, thei are rather put the soner in remēbraunce, that suche lessons are, then so taught as though thei neuer knewe theim, or els neuer would vse them. And therfore a certain learned man, & of muche excellencie, beeyng asked what was suche a figure, and suche a trope in Rhetorique: I cannot tell (q he) but I am assured, if you loke in the boke of myne oraciōs, you shall not faile but finde theim. So that though he knewe not the name of suche and suche figures, yet the nature of thē was so familiar to his knowlege, that he had thuse of them, when soeuer he had nede. Nowe though this man could well thus doo, beyng of suche notable vnderstandyng, yet it were foly that all should folowe his waie, whiche want so good a wit. And I thinke euen he himself, should not haue lost by it neither, if he had seen that in aglasse, whiche he often vsed to do without knowlege. Man is forgetfull, and there is none so wise, but counsaill maie dooe hym good. Yea, he shall dooe muche better, that knoweth what arte other men haue vsed, what inuencion thei haue folowed, what order thei haue kept, and how thei haue best doen in euery part. If he like not theirs, he may vse his awne, and yet none dooeth so euill (I thynke) but some good maie be got by hym. The wise therfore wil not refuse to heare: and the ignoraunt for want, had nede to seke a will.

Thuse of arte.

¶ Thende of the.ii. boke.

¶ The third boke.

¶ Of apte chusyng and framyng of wordes and sentences together, called Elocucion.

AND now we are come to that parte of Rhetorique, the whiche aboue al other is most beautifull, wherby not onely wordes are aptly vsed, but also sentences are in right order framed. For whereas Inuencion, helpeth to finde matter, and Disposicion serueth to place argumentes: Elocucion getteth wordes to set furthe inuencion, & with suche beautie commendeth the matter, that reason semeth to bee clad in purple, walkyng afore, bothe bare and naked. Therfore Tullie saieth well, to finde out reason, & aptly to frame it, is the part of a wise man, but to commende it by wordes, and with gorgious talke to tell our conceipte, that is onely propre to an Orator. Many are wise, but fewe haue the gift to set furthe their wisedome. Many can tell their mynde in Englishe, but fewe can vse mete termes, and apt order: suche as all men should haue, and wise men will vse: suche as nedes must be had, when matters should be vttered. Now then what is he, at whom all men wonder, and stande in a maze, at the viewe of his wit: Whose doynges are best esteemed: who do we moste reuerence, and compt halfe a God emong men: Euen suche a one assuredly, that can plainly, distinctly, plentifully, and aptly vtter bothe wordes and matter, and in his talke can vse suche composicion, that he maie appere to kepe an vniformitie, and (as I might saie) a nomber in the vttering of his sentẽce. Now an eloquẽt man beyng sinally learned, can do muche more good in perswading, by shift of wordes, and mete placyng of matter: then a greate learned clerke shalbe able with great store of learnyng, wantyng wordes to set furth his meanyng. Wherfore I muche maruaile that so many seke the only knowlege of thynges, without any mynd to commende or set furthe their entendement: seyng none cã knowe either what thei are, or what thei haue, without the gift of vtterance. Yea, bryng thẽ to speake their mynde, and enter in talke with suche as are said to be learned, & you shal finde in thẽ suche lacke of vtterance, that if you iudge theim

Eloquent men moste esteemed.

by

by their tongue, and expressyng of their mynde: you must nedes saie thei haue no learnyng. Wherin me thinkes thei do, like some riche snudges, that hauyng great wealth, go with their hose out at heeles, their shoes out at toes, and their cotes out at bothe elbowes. For who can tell, if suche men are worth a grote, when their apparel is so homely, and al their behauior so base? I can call thē by none other name, but slouens, that maie haue good geare, and nether cā, nor yet will ones weare it clenly. What is a good thyng to a maune, if he neither knowe thuse of it, nor yet (though he knowe it) is able at all to vse it? If we thinke it comelinesse, and honestie to set furthe the body with handsome apparell, and thynke theim worthie to haue money, that bothe can and will vse it accordyugly: I cannot otherwise se, but that this part deserueth praise, whiche standeth wholy in settyng furthe matter by apte wordes and sentences together, & beautifieth the tongue with greate chaunge of colours, and varietie of figures.

Barbarous clerkes, no better then clouds

¶ Foure partes belongyng to Elocution.

i. Plainnesse.
ij. Aptenesse.
iij. Composicion.
iiij. Ornacion.

Among al other lessons, this should first be learned, ỹ we neuer affect any straūge ynkehorne termes, but so speake as is commonly receiued: neither seekyng to be ouer fine, nor yet liuyng ouer careleslie, vsyng our speache as most men do, & ordryng our wittes, as the fewest haue doen. Some seke so farre for outlādishe Englishe, that thei forget altogether their mothers lāguage. And I dare swere this, if some of their mothers were aliue, thei were not able to tell, what thei say, & yet these fine Englishe clerkes, wil saie thei speake in their mother tongue, if a mā shou'd charge thē for coūterfeityng the kynges English. Some farre iorneid gentlemē at their returne home, like as thei loue to go in forrein apparell, so thei wil powder their talke w̄ ouersea lāguage. He that cometh lately out of France, wil talke Frēche English, & neuer blushe at the matter. Another choppes in with Angleso Italiano: the lawyer wil store his stomack with the

Plaines what it is.

prayng of Pedlers. The Auditour in makyng his accompt and rekenyng, cometh in with lyfe sould, and cater denere, for vi.s iiij.d. The fine Courtier wil talke nothyng but Chaucer. The mistical wise menne, and Poeticall Clerkes, will speake nothyng but quaint prouerbes, and blynd allegories, delityng muche in their awne darkenesse, especially, when none can tell what thei dooe saie. The vnlearned or foolishe phantastical, that smelles but of learnyng (suche felowes as haue seen learned men in their daies) will so latine their tongues, that the simple cannot but wonder at their talke, and thynke surely thei speake by some Reuelacion. I knowe them that thynke Rhetorique, to stande wholy vpon darke woordes, and he that can catche an vnke horne terme by the taile, hym thei compt to bee a fine Englishe man, and a good Rhetotician And the rather to set out this folie, I will adde here suche a letter, as Willyam Sommer himself, could not make a better for that purpose. Some will thinke and swere to, that there was neuer any suche thyng writtē, well I wil not force any man to beleue it, but I will saie thus muche, and abide by it to, the like haue been made heretofore, and praised aboue the Moone.

An vnkehorne letter.

Wonderyng, expēdyng, and reuolutyng with my self your ingent affabilitee, and ingenious capacitee, for mundane affaires: I cannot but celebrate and extolle your magnificall dexteritee, aboue all other. For how could you haue adepted suche illustrate prerogatiue, and dominicall superioritee, if the fecunditee of your ingenie had not been so fertile, & woūderfull pregnaunt. Now therfore beeyng accersited, to suche splendent renoume, & dignitee splendidious: I doubt not but you will adiuuate suche poore adnichilate orphanes, as whilome ware cōdiscyples with you, and of antique familiaritie in Lincolne shire. Emong whom I beeyng a Scholasticall panion, obtestate your sublimitee to extoll myne infirmitee. There is a sacerdotall dignitee in my natiue countrey, contiguate to me, where I now contemplate: whiche your worshipfull benignitee, could some impetrate for me, if it would like you to extend your scedules, and collaude me in them to the right honorable lorde Chauncellor, or rather Archigrāmatian

macian of Englande. You knowe my literature, you knowe the pastorall promocion, I obtestate your clemencie, to inuigilate thus muche for me, accordyng to my confidence, and as you know my condigne merites, for suche a compendious liuyng. But now I relinquishe to fatigate your intelligence with any more friuolous verbositie, and therfore he that rules the climates be euermore your beautreux, your fortresse, and your bulwarke. Amen.

What wise mã readyng this letter, will not take him for a very Caulfe, that made it in good earnest, & thought by his ynkepot termes, to get a good personage. Doeth wit reste in straunge wordes, or els standeth it in wholsome matter, and apt declaryng of a mannes mynd? Do we not speake, because we would haue other to vnderstande vs, or is not the tongue geuẽ for this ende, that one might know what another meaneth? And what vnlearned man can tell, what half this letter signifieth? Therfore, either we must make a difference of Englishe, and saie some is learned Englishe, and other some is rude Englishe, or the one is courte talke, the other is coũtrey speache, or els we must of necessitee, banishe al suche affected Rhetorique, and vse altogether one maner of lãguage. When I was in Cambrige, and student in the kynges College, there came a man out of the toune, with a pinte of wine in a pottle pot, to welcome the prouost of that house, that lately came from the courte. And because he would bestow his present like a clerke, dwellyng emong the schoolers: he made humbly his thre curtesies, and said in this maner. Cha good euen my good lorde, and well might your lordship vare: Understandyng that your lordeship was come, & knowyng that you are a worshipfull Pilate, and kepes a bominable house: I thought it my duetie to come incantiuantee, & bryng you a pottell a wine, the whiche I beseche your lordeship take in good worthe. Here the simple man beyng desirous to amende his mothers tongue, shewed hymself not to bee the wisest manne, that euer spake with tongue.

Another good felowe in the coũtrey, beyng an officer, and Maiour of a toune, and desirous to speake like a fine learned man, hauyng iust occasion to rebuke a runnegate felow, said

Roperipe chidyng.

after this wise in a greate heate. Thou pngram and vacacion knaue, if I take thee any more within the circumcision of my dampnacion: I will so corrupte thee, that all vacation knaues shall take ilsample by thee.

Another standyng in muche nede of money, and desirous to haue some helpe at a gentlemanns hand, made his complaint in this wise. I praie you sir be so good vnto me, as forbeare this halfe yeres rent. For so helpe me God and halidome, we are so taken on with contrary Bishoppes, with reuiues, and with subsidies to the kyng, that al our money is cleane gone. These wordes he spake for contribucion, relief, and subsidie. And thus we see that poore simple men are muche troubled, and talke oftentymes, thei knowe not what, for lacke of wit and want of Latine & Frenche, wherof many of our straūge woordes full often are deriued. Those therefore that will eschue this foly, and acquaint themselfes with the best kynd of speache, muste seke frō tyme to tyme, suche wordes as are commonly receiued, and suche as properly maie expresse in plain maner, the whole conceipte of their mynde. And looke what woordes wee best vnderstande, and knowe what thei meane: thesame should soonest be spoken, and firste applied to the vtteraunce of our purpose.

Now whereas wordes be receiued, aswell Greke as Latine, to set furthe our meanyng in thenglishe tongue, either for lacke of store, or els because wee would enriche the language: it is well doen to vse them, and no man therin can be charged for any affectacion, when all other are agreed to folowe thesame waie. There is no man agreued, when he heareth (letters patentes) & yet patentes is latine, and signifieth open to all men. The Communion is a felowship, or a commyng together, rather Latine then Englishe: the Kynges prerogatiue, declareth his power royall aboue all other, and yet I knowe no man greued for these termes, beeyng vsed in their place, nor yet any one suspected for affectacion, when suche generall wordes are spoken. The folie is espied, when either we will vse suche wordes, as fewe men doo vse, or vse theim out of place, when another might serue muche better. Therfore to auoyde suche folie, we maie learne of that most excellent

excellent Orator Tullie, who in his thirde booke, where he speaketh of a perfect Oratoure, declareth vnder the name of Crassus, that for the choyse of wordes, foure thinges should chiefly be obserued. First, that suche wordes as we vse, shuld bee proper vnto the tongue, wherein wee speake, again, that thei be plain for all men to perceiue: thirdly, that thei be apt and mete, moste properly to sette out the matter. Fourthly, that woordes translated from one signification to another, (called of the Grecians, Tropes) bee vsed to beautifie the sentence, as precious stones are set in a ryng, to commende the golde.

Foure thinges obserued, for choyse of wordes.

¶ Aptenesse what it is.

Suche are thought apt wordes, that properly agre vnto that thyng, whiche thei signifie, and plainly expresse the nature of the same. Therfore thei that haue regard of their estimacion, do warely speake, and with choyse, vtter woordes moste apte for their purpose. In weightie causes, graue wordes are thought moste needfull, that the greatnesse of the matter, maie the rather appere in the vehemencie of their talke. So likewise of other, like order muste be taken. Albeit some, not onely do not obserue this kynde of aptnes, but also thei fall into muche fondnesse, by vsyng woordes out of place, and applyng theim to diuerse matters without all discrecion. As thus. An ignorant felowe comyng to a gentlemannes place, & seyng a greate flocke of shepe in his pastour saied to the owner of theim, now by my truthe sir, here is as goodly an audience of shepe, as euer I saw in al my life. Who will not take this felowe meter to talke with shepe, then to speake emong menne? Another likewise seeyng a house faire buylded, saied to his felowe thus: good lorde, what a handesome phrase of buildyng is this? Thus are good woordes euil vsed, when thei are not well applied, and spoke to good purpose. Therfore I wishe that suche vntoward speakyng, maie geue vs a good lesson, to vse our tongue warely, that our woordes and matter maie still agree together.

Aptenes.

Vnapte vsyng of apt woordes

¶ Of Composicion.

When we haue learned vsuall and accustomable woordes to set furthe our meanyng, we ought to ioyne them together in

in apt order, that the eare maie delite, in hearyng the harmo-
monie. I knowe some English men, that in this poynct haue
suche a gift in the Englishe, as fewe in Latine haue the like
and therfore, delite the wise and lerned so muche, with their
pleasaunt composicion: that many reioyce, when thei maie
heare suche, and thynke muche learnyng is gotte, when thei
Composicion what it is. maie talke with suche. Composicion therefore, is an apte
ioynyng together of wordes in suche order, that neither the
eare shal espie any ierre, nor yet any man shalbe dulled with
ouerlong drawing out of a sentence, nor yet muche confoun-
ded with myngelyng of clauses, suche as are nedelesse, beyng
heaped together without reason, and vsed without nomber.
For, by suche meanes the hearers will be forced, to forgette
full oft, what was saied first, before the sentence be halfe en-
ded: or els bee blynded with confoundyng of many thynges
together. Some again will bee so shorte, and in suche wise
Faules in cō-posicion. curtall their Sentences, that thei had nede to make a com-
mentarie immediatly of their meanyng, or els the moste that
heare them, shalbe forced to kepe counsaill.

Some will speake oracles, that a man cannot tell, whiche
waie to take theim, some will be so fine, & so Poeticall with
all, that to their semyng, there shall not stande one heire a-
misse, & yet euery body els shall thinke thē meter for a ladies
chamber, then for an earnest matter, in any open assemblie.

Some wil roue so muche, and bable so farre without or-
der, that a manne would thynke, thei had a greate loue, to
heare themselfes speake.

Some repeate one woorde so often, that if suche woordes
could be eaten, and chopte in so ofte, as thei are vttered out,
thei would choke the widest throte in all England. As thus.
If a man knewe, what a mans life wer, no man for any mā-
nes sake, would kill any man, but one mā would rather help
another man, considryng man is borne for man, to help mā, &
no to hate man. What man would not be choked, if he chopt
al these men at ones into his mouth, & neuer dronke after it?
Some vse ouermuche repetitiō of some one letter, as pitiful
pouertie praieth for a peny, but puffed presūptiō, passeth not
a poynct, pāperyng his panche, wō pestilēt pleasure, procuring

his

his passe porte to poste it to Hell pytte, there to be punished with paines perpetuall. Some will so sette their wordes that they muste be fayne to gape after euerye worde spokē, endinge one worde with a vowell, and beginninge the nexte wyth an other, whyche vndoubtedlye maketh the talke to seme moste vnpleasaunte. As thus Equitie assuredlye euerye iniurye auoydeth. Some will set the carte before the horse, as thus. My mother and my father are both at home, euen as thoughe the good man of the house ware no breaches, or that the graye Mare were the better Horse. And what thoughe it often so happeneth (God wotte the more pitye) yet in speakinge at the leaste, let vs kepe a naturall order, and set the man before the woman for maners sake.

An other cominge home in haste after a long iourney, sayeth to hys manne: Come hither sir knaue, helpe me of with my bootes and my spurres. I praye you sir geue him leaue firste to plucke of youre spurres, ere he meddle wyth your bootes, or els your man is like to haue a madde pluckinge. Who is so folyshe as to saye the counsayle and the kynge, but rather the Kinge and his counsayle, the father and the sonne, and not contrary. And so likewise in al other as they are in degree firste, euermore to set them formost.

The wise therfore talkinge of diuers worthye menne together, will firste name the worthiest, and kepe a decent order in reportynge of their tale. Some ende their sentences all alike, makyng their talke rather to appeare rimed meter then to seme playne speache, the whiche as it muche delyteth beynge measurablye vsed, so it muche offendeth when no meane is regarded. I heard a preacher delityng much in thys kynd of composition, who vsed so oftē to ende his sentence with wordes like vnto that whiche wente before, that in my iudgemente, there was not a dosen sentences in hys whole sermon, but they ended all in ryme for the most part. Some not best disposed, wished the Preacher a Lute, that with his rimed sermon he myght vse some pleasaunt melodye, and so the people myghte take pleasure diuers wayes, and daunce if they liste. Certes there is a meane, & no reason to vse any one thinge at all times, seynge nothinge de-

liteth(be it neuer so good)that is alwayes vsed.

Quintilian likeneth the colours of Rhetorique to a mannes eye sighte. And nowe(quod he)I woulde not haue all the bodye to be full of eyes,or nothinge but eyes: for the the other partes shoulde wante their due place and proporcion. Some ouerthwartelye sette their woordes, placynge some one a mple frome his felowes, not contented with a playne and easye composition,but seke to sette wordes they can not tell howe, and therfore one not likynge to be called and by printe published Doctoure of Phisike, woulde neades be named of Phisike Doctour,wherin appeared a wonderfull composition(as he thought)straunge vndoubtedlye, but whether wise or no,lette the learned sitte in iudgement vpon that matter.

An other. As I rose in the morynge (quod one) I mette a carte full of stones emptye. Belike the manne was fastinge,when the carte was full,and yet we see that throughe straunge composition this sentence appeareth darke.

Some will tell one thinge.xx.times,nowe in,nowe out, & when a man would thinke they had almost ended,they are ready to beginne againe as freshe as euer they were. Such vayne repetitions declare both wante of witte,and lacke of learninge. Some are so homely in all their doynges,and so grosse for their inuention, that they vse altogither one maner of trade, and seke no varietie to eschewe tediousnes.

Some burden their talke with nedelesse coppe, and will seme plentifull,when they shoulde be shorte.An other is so curious and so fine of his tongue, that he can not tell in all the worlde what to speake. Euerie sentence semeth commune,and euerye worde generallye vsed,is thought to be folyshe,in his wise iudgemente. Some vse so manye interpositions bothe in their talke and in their writinge,that they make their sayinges as darke as hell.Thus whā faultes be knowen,they may be auoyded: and vertue the soner may take place,when vice is forsene,and eschewed as euill.

Of Eroynation.

When wee haue learned apte woordes and vsuall Phrases to sette forthe oure meanynge, and can orderlye place them without offence to the eare,

we

we maye boldelye commende and beautifie oure talke wyth diuers goodlye colour.es, and delitefull translations, that oure speache maye seme as bryghte and precious, as a ryche stone is fayre and orient.

Exornation is a gorgiousse beautifiynge of the tongue with borowed wordes, and chaung of sentence or speache, with muche varietie. Firste therfore (as Tullie sayethe) an Oration is made to seme ryghte excellente by the kinde selfe, by the colour and iuice of speache. Ther are .iij. maner of styles or enditinges, the great or mighty kind, whē we vse great wordes, or vehemēt figures: The smal kinde, when we moderate our heate by meaner wordes, and vse not the most stirring sentences: The lowe kinde, when we vse no Metaphores, nor translated wordes, nor yet vse any amplificatiōs, but go plainelye to worke, and speake altogether in commune wordes. Nowe in all these three kindes, the Oration is muche commended, and appeareth notable, when wee kepe vs styll to that style, whiche wee firste professed, and vse suche wordes as seme for that kinde of writinge most conuenient.

Exornation.

Three maners of stiles or enditinges.

Yea, if we minde to encrease, or diminish: to be in a heate, or to vse moderatiō: to speake pleasauntly, or speake grauelye: to be sharpe, or to be softe: to talke lordlye, or to speake finelie: to ware auncient, or familiar (which al are comprehended vnder one of the other three:) we muste euer make oure wordes apte and agreable to that kinde of stile, whiche we firste ganne to vse. For as frenche hodes do not become Lordes: so Parliament Robes are vnfitting for Ladies. Comelines therfore must euer be vsed, and all thinges obserued that are most mete for euery cause, if we loke by attemptes to haue our desire.

There is another kind of Exornaciō ꝑ is not equally sparpled throughout ꝑ whole oratiō, but is so disseuered & parted, as starres stand in the firmament, or floures in a gardē, or pretty deuised antiques in a clothe of Araise.

Exornation by coloures of Rhetorique.

What a figure is.

A Figure is a certaine kinde, either of sentence, oration, or worde, vsed after some newe or straunge wise, muche vnlike to that, which men communely vse to speake.

The diuision of Fygures.

THere are thre kindes of figures, the one is when the nature of wordes is chaunged from one signification to an other called a Trope of the Grecians: The other serueth for woordes when they are not chaũged by nature, but only altered by speaking, called of ỹ Grecians a Scheme: The third is when by deuersity of inuention, a sentence is manye wayes spoken, and also matters are amplified by heappynge examples, by dilatynge argumentes, by comparinge of thynges together, by similitudes, by contraries, and by diuers other like, called by Tullie Exornacion of sentences, or coloures of Rhetorique.

By all whiche Figures, euerye Oration maye be muche beautified, and without the same, not one can attaine to be counted an Oratoure, thoughe his learninge otherwise be neuer so greate.

Of the fyrste ble of Tropes.

Tropes how they wer fyrst founded.

WHen learned and wise menne gan firste to enlarge their tongue, and sought with greate vtteraunce of speache to commende causes: they founde full ofte muche wante of woordes to set out their meanynge. And therfore remembrynge thinges of like nature vnto those wherof they spake: they vsed suche woordes to expresse their minde, as were most like vnto other. As for example. If I shoulde speake against some notable Pharisee, I might vse translation of woordes in this wise: Ponder man is of a croked iudgment, his wyttes are clowdie, he liueth in deepe darkenes, dusked altogether wyth blynde ignoraunce, and drowned in the raginge sea, of bottomeles superstition. Thus is the ignoraunte set out, by callinge hym croked, clowdye, darke, blinde, and drowninde in superstition. All whiche woordes are not proper vnto ignoraunce, but borowed of other thinges, that are of lyke nature vnto ignoraunce. For the vnskilfull man hath his wytte set oute of

order

order, as a mannes bodye is set out of ioynte, and therupon it maye be sayde to be croked. Likewyse he maye be called clowdye, for as the clowdes kepe the Sunne shinynge from vs, so dothe his Ignorannce kepe him blindefolde from the true vnderstandinge of thinges. And as when the eyes are oute, no manne can see anye thinge: so when perfecte iudgemente is wantinge, the truthe can not be knowen. And so likewise of all other. Thus as necessitye hath forced vs to borowe wordes translated: so hath time and practice made theim to seeme moost pleasaunt, and therfore thei are mucht the rather vsed. Yea, when a thynge full ofte can not be expresse by an apte and mete woorde, we do perceyue (when it is spoken by a woorde translated) that the likenes of that thynge whiche appeareth in an other worde, muche lightneth that, which we woulde most gladly haue perceyued.

And not onely do menne vse translation of wordes (called Tropes) for nede sake, when thei can not finde other: but also when they maye haue moost apte wordes at hande, yet wyll they of a purpose vse translated wordes. And the reason is this. Menne counte it a poynte of witte to passe ouer suche woordes as are at hande, and to vse suche as are farre fetcht and translated: or elles it is, because the hearer is led by cogitacion vpon rehearsall of a Metaphore, & thinketh more by remembraunce of a word translated, then is there expresslye spoken: or elles because the whole matter semeth by a similitude to be opened: or last of al, bicause euery translation is commenly, & for the most part referred to the sensesof the body, & especially to ỹ sense of seing, which is the sharpest and quickest aboue all other. For whē I shal saye that an angrye manne fometh at the mouthe, I am brought in remembraunce by this translation to remember a bore, that in fightyng vseth muche foming, the whiche is a fowle and lothelye sighte. And I cause other to thinke that he brake pacience wonderfully, when I set out his rage cōparable to a bores fominge.

An other beinge offended wyth checkes geuen, will saye, I maruaile sir what you meane to be euer suarringe at me, wherein is declared a brutishenes, consideringe he speaketh

biting wordes, as muche without reason & as vncomelye, as a dogge dothe, when he snarreth, the whiche wee see is nothing semely. There is nothing in all the worlde, but the same maye haue the name of some other worde, the whiche by some similitude is lyke vnto it. Notwithstandinge there ought muche wareneſſe to be vsed in choſyng of wordes tanslated, that the same be not vnlike that thing, whervnto it is applied, nor yet that the translation be vncomely or suche as may geue occasion of any vncleane meaning.

A Trope.

Trope what it is.

A Trope is an alteration of a word or sentence from the proper significatiō to that whych is not proper.

The diuision of Tropes.

Deuision of Tropes.

Tropes are either of a word, or of a longe continued speche or sentence.

Tropes of a worde are these.

- A Metaphore or translation of wordes.
- A worde makinge.
- Intellection.
- Abusion.
- Transmutation of a word.
- Transumption.
- Chaunge of a name.
- Circumlocution.

Tropes of a longe continued speache or sentence are these.

- An Allegorie, or inuersion of wordes.
- Mountinge.
- Resemblinge of thinges.
- Similitude.
- Example.

What is a Metaphore.

Metaphora

A Metaphore is an alteration of a woorde from the proper and naturall meanynge, to that whiche is not proper, and yet agreeth therunto, by some lykenes that appeareth to be in it.

An

An Oration is wonderfullye enriched, when apte Metaphores are gotte and applied to the matter. Neither can anye one perswade effectuouslye, and winne men by weyght of his Oration, withoute the helpe of woordes altered and translated.

The diuersitye of translations.

FIrste we alter a woorde from that which is in the minde, to that which is in the bodye. As when we perceyue one that hath begiled vs, we vse to saye: Ah sirha, I am gladde I haue smelled you oute. Beinge greued with a matter, we saye communelye we can not digest it. The Lawyer receiuing money more then neadeth oftentimes, will saye to his Client wythout any translation. I fele you wel, whē the pore man thinketh ȳ he doth well vnderstand his cause, and will helpe him to some good ende. For so, communelye we saye, when we knowe a mans minde in anye thinge. This kinde of mutation is muche vsed, when we talke earnestlye of any matter.

From the creature wythout reason, to that whyche hathe reason.

THE seconde kinde of translation is, when we goo from the creature wythout reason to that whiche hathe reason, or contrarye from that whiche hathe reason, to that whiche hath no reason. As if I shoulde saye, such an vnreasonable brawler, did nothinge elles but barke like a Dogge, or like a Fore. Women are saide to chatter, churles to grunte, boyes to whyne, and ponge men to yell. Contrariwise, we call a Fore false, a Lyon proude, and a Dogge flatteringe.

From the lyuynge to that whyche hath no lyfe.

FRom the liuynge to the not liuynge, we vse many translations. As thus. You shall playe for al men dispersed throughoute the face of the earthe. The arme of a tree. The syde of a Bancke. The lande cryeth for vengeaunce. From the liuinge, to the not liuing: Hatred buddeth emonge malicious men, his woordes flowe out of his mouthe. I haue a whole world of busines. In obseruing the worke of Nature in al seueral substāces we

we maye finde translations at wyll, then the whiche no: thinge is moze profitable fo: anye one that myndeth by hys vtteraunce to stirre the hartes of menne either one waye o: other.

word making. A wo:de makinge called of the Grecians Onomatopeia is when we make wo:des of oure owne mynde, suche as be deriued from the nature of thinges. As to call one Patche o: Cowlson, whom we see to do a thinge folyshelye, because these two in their time were notable soles. O: when one is lustye to saye Taratauntara, declaringe therby that he is as lustye, as a Trumpette is delitefull, and sty:ringe: o: when one woulde seme galaunte, to crye hoyghe, whereby also is declared courage. Boyes beynge greued will saye some one to an other, Sir I wyll cappe you, if you vse me thus, and withholde that frome me whyche is myne owne: meanynge that he will take his cappe from him. Againe, when we see one gape and galaunte, we vse to saye, he courtes it. Muod one that reasoned in diuinitie wyth his felowe, I like well to reason, but I can not chappe these textes in scripture, if I shoulde dye fo: it: meaning that he coulde not tell in what chapiter thinges were conteyned, althoughe he knewe full well that there were suche sayinges.

Intellection.

Intellection. Intellection called of the Gretians, Synecdoche. is a Trope, when wee gather o: Judge the whole by the parte, o: part, by the whole. As thus. The king is come to London, meaning therby that other also be come with him. The frenche man is good to kepe a fo:te, o: to sky:mishe on ho:sebacke, wherby we declare the frenchmen generally. By the whole & part, thus. All Cambridge so:owed fo: the deathe of Bucer, meaninge the most parte. All Englande reioyseth that pilgrimage is banished, and Idolatrye fo: euer abolished: and yet all England is not glad, but the most parte.

The like phrases are in the Scripture, as when the Magians came to Jerusalem, & asked where he was that was bo:ne

borne Kyng of the Iewes. Herode starte vp beeyng greatly troubled, and al the citie of Ierusalem with hym, and yet al the Citie was not troubled, but the most part. By the signe we vnderstande the thyng signified, as by an Iuie garlande, we iudge there is wyne to sel. By the signe of a Beare, Bul Lyon, or any suche, wee take any house to be an Inne. By eatyng breade at the Communion, wee remember Christes death, and by Faith, receiue hym spiritually.

¶ Abusion.

Abusion, called of the Grecians Catachresis, is when for a certaine proper woorde we vse that whiche is most nighe vnto it: As in callyng some water, a fishe ponde, though there be no fishe in it at all: or elles when we saie, here is long talke, and small matter. Whiche are spoken vnproperly, for we cannot measure, either talke, or matter by length, or breadth. Abusion.

¶ Transmutacion of a woorde.

Transmutacion helpeth much for varietie, the whiche is when a woorde hath a proper signification of the owne, & beyng referred to an other thyng, hath an other meanyng, the Grecians cal it Metonymia the whiche is diuerse waies vsed. When we vse the author of a thyng, for the thyng selfe. As thus. Put vpon you the Lord Iesus Christe, that is to say, be in liuyng suche a one, as he was. The Pope is banished England, that is to saie, al his superstition, and Hypocrisie, either is, or shoulde be gone to the Deuill by the Kynges expresse will, and commaundement. Againe when that whiche doeth conteyne, is vsed for that whiche is conteined. As thus. I haue dronk an hoggeshead this weeke: Heauen may reioyce, and hell may lament, when olde men are not couetouse. Contrarywise, when the thyng conteined is vsed for the thyng conteinyng. As thus. I praie you come to me, that is to say, come to my house. Fourthely, when by the efficient cause, the effecte is streight gatherde thereupon. As thus. The Sonne is vp, that is to saie, it is day. This felowe is good with a long bowe, that is to saie, he shouteth wel. Transmutacion

i.

ii.

iii.

iiii.

¶ Transumption.

TRansumption is, when by digrees wee go to that, whiche is to be shewed. As thus: Suche a one lyeth in a darke doungeon, now in speaking of darkenesse, we vnderstand closenesse, by closenesse, we gather blackenesse, and by blackenesse, we iudge depenesse.

¶ Chaunge of name.

Antonomasia.

CHaunge of a name, is when for the propre name, some name of an office, or other calling is vsed. As thus: the Prophete of God saith: Blessed, are they whose synnes be not imputed vnto them, meanyng Dauid. The Poete saieth: It is a vertue, to eschew vice, wherein I vnderstande Horace.

¶ Circumlocution.

periphrasis

CIrcumlocution is, a large description either to sette forth a thyng more gorgeously, or els to hyde it, if the eares cannot beare the open speakyng: or when with fewe wordes we cannot open our meanyng, to speake it more largely. Of the first thus. The valiaunt courage of mightie Scipio subdued the force of Carthage and Numãtia. Henry the fifte, the most puissaunt Kyng of Englande, with seuen thousand men toke the Frenshe Kyng prisoner with al the flower of nobilitie in Fraunce. Of the seconde. When Saule was easyng hymselfe vpon the grounde, Dauid toke a peece of his garment, tooke his weapon that laie by hym, and might haue slaine hym. Suche a one defiled his bodie with suche an euill woman. For the thirde parte, the large commentaries written, and the Paraphrasis of Erasmus englished: are sufficient to showe the vse therof.

¶ Whhat is an Allegorie.

AN Allegorie is none other thyng, but a Metaphore vsed throughout a whole sentence, or Oration. As in speakyng against a wicked offendour, I might say thus. Oh Lorde, his nature was so euill, and his witte so wickedly bente, that he ment to bouge the shippe, where he hymselfe sailed, meanyng that he purposed the destruction of his owne countrie. It is euill puttyng strong wine into weake vesselles, that is to say it is euill trustyng some

some wome with weightie matters. The English Prouerbes gatherde by Jhon Heywood helpe wel in this behaulf, the whiche commenly are nothyng elles but Allegories, and darcke deuised sentences. Now for the other fower figures because I mynde hereafter to speake more largely of them, and Quintilian thynketh them more meete to be placed emong the figures of Ornacion, I wil not trouble the reader with double inculcation, and twyse tellyng of one tale.

¶ Of Schemes, called otherwyse sentences of a worde and sentence.

I Might tary a longe tyme in declaryng the nature of diuerse Schemes, whiche are woordes or sentencies altered, either by speakyng, or writyng, contrarie to the vulgare custome of our speache without chaungyng their nature at all: but because I knowe the vse of the figures in word is not so great in this our tõgue, I wil run them ouer with asmuche haste as I can. Scheme what it is.

¶ The diuision of Schemes.

STraunge vsyng of any worde or sentence contrarie to our daiely wont, is either when we adde, or take away a sillable, or a word, or encrease a sentence by chaunge of speache cõtrarie to the commune maner of speakyng.

¶ Figures of a worde.

THose be called figures of a word, when we chaunge a worde, and speake it contrarie to our vulgare and daily speache. Of the whiche sorte, there are fiue in nomber.

i. Addition at the first.
ij. Abstraction from the first.
iij. Interlacyng in the middest.
iiij. Cuttyng from the middest.
v. Addyng at the ende.
vi. Cuttyng from the end.

OF Addition. As thus. He did all to berattle hym. Wherein appereth that a sillable is added to this worde (rattle.) Here is good nale to sel, for good ale, Prosthesis.

Apheresis. Of Abstraction from the first, thus. As I romed al alone, I ganne to thynke of matters greate. In whiche sentence, (ganne) is vsed, for beganne.

Epenthesis. Interlacyng in the middest. As. Kelligion, for religion.

Syncope. Cuttyng from the middest. Idolatrie, for Idololatrie.

Prosparalepsis Addyng at the end. Hasten your busines, for, Haste your businesse.

Apocope. Cuttyng from the end. A faire may, for, maide.

Thus these figures are shortely sette out, and as for the other Schemes, whiche are vtterde in whole sentences, and expressed by varitie of speache: I wil set them forth at large emong the coloures & ornamentes of Elocution, ỹ folowe.

¶ Of coloures and ornamentes to commende and sette forth an Oration.

Coloures of Rhetorique. NOW, when we are able to frame a sentence handsomly together, obseruyng number and keppng cõposition, suche as shal lyke best the eare, & do know the vse of Tropes, and can applie them to our purpose: than thornamentes are necessarie in an Oratiõ, & sentences woulde bee furnished with moste beautifull figures. Therfore to thende that they may be knowne, suche as most commende and beautifie an Oration: I wil set them forthe here in suche wise as I shal best be able, folowyng the order whiche Tullie hath vsed in his Booke made of a perfite Oratour.

¶ Restyng vpon a poyncte.

Commoratio. WHEN wee are earnest in a matter, and feele the weight of our cause, wee rest vpon some reason, whiche serueth best for our purpose. Wherin this figure appereth most, & helpeth muche to set forthe our matter. For if we stil kepe vs to our strongest holde, and make offterecourse thither, though we be dryuē through bytalke to go from it nowe and than: we shall force them at length, either to auoide our strong defence, or elles to yelde into our handes.

¶ An euident, or plaine settyng forthe of a thyng as though it were presently doen.

This

Illustris explanatio.

THis figure is called a description, or an euident declaratiõ of a thyng, as though we sawe it euen now doen. An example. If our enemies shall inuade, and by treason wynne the victorie, we al shal dye euery mothers sonne of vs, and our Citie shalbe destroied sticke & stoone. I see our childzen made slaues, our daughters rauisshed, our wifes caried away, the father forced to kil his own sonne, the mother her daughter, the sonne his father, the sucking child slaine in the mothers bosome, one standyng to the knees in anothers bloude, Churches spoiled, houses pluckte doune, and al set in fier rounde about vs, euery one cursyng the day of their birth, childzen criyng, women waylyng, and olde men passyng for very thought, and euery one thynkyng hymselfe most happy that is first ridde out of this worlde, suche will the crueltie be of our enemies, and with suche horrible hatred wil they seeke to dispatche vs. Thus where I might haue said, we shal al be destroied and saie no more, I haue by description sette the euill forth at large. It muche auaileth to vse this figure in diuerse matters, the whiche whosoeuer can do, with any excellent gift, vndoubtedly he shal muche delite the hearers. The circumstaunces wel considered in euery cause, geue muche matter for the plaine opening of the thyng. Also similitudes, examples, cõparisons from one thyng to another, apte translacions, and heaping of allegories and all suche figures as serue for amplifiyng, do muche commende the liuely settyng forthe of any matter. The miseries of the Courtiers lyfe might well be described by this kind of figure. The commoditie of learnyng, the pleasure of plowe men, and the care that a Kyng hath. And not onely are matters set out by description, but men are painted out in their colours, yea buildynges are set forth, Kyngdomes, and Realmes are portured, places, and tymes are described. The Englishe man for feedyng, and chaung of apparel: The Duytche man for drynkyng: The Frenche man for pryde and inconstaunce: The Spãyard for nymblenes of bodie, and muche disdaine: The Italian for great witte and pollicie: The Scottes for boldenes, and the Boeme for stubbornesse.

Description of outrage after a battaile.

Diuersitie of natures.

Many people are described by their degree as a man of good yeres is compted sober, wise and circumspect: a young man wilde, and careless: a woman bablyng, inconstant, and redy to beleue al that is tolde her.

By vocation of life, a souldiour is counted a great bragger, and a vaunter of hymselfe: a Scholer simple: a russed coate, sadde and sometymes craftie: a courtier, flatteryng: a citezen, gentle.

Description of persone.

In describing of persons there ought alwaies a commenesse to be vsed, so that nothyng be spoken whiche may be thought is not in them. As if one shall describe Henry the sixth, he might cal hym gentle, milde of nature, ledde by perswasion, & redy to forgeue, careless for wealthe, suspectyng none, merciful to al, fearefull in aduersitie, & without forecast to espie his misfortune. Again for Richarde the third I might bryng hym in, cruell of harte, ambicious by nature, enuious of mynde, a depe dissembler, a close man for weighty matters, hardie to reuenge, and feareful to lose his high estate, trustie to none, liberal for a purpose, castyng still the worst, and hoping euer the best. By this figure also we imagine a talke for some one to speake, and according to his person we fraime the Oration. As if one should bryng in noble Henry the. viij. of most famous memorie to enueigh against rebelles, thus he might order his Oration. What if Henry theight were alyue, & sawe suche rebellion in this Realme, would not he say thus, and thus? yea me thynkes I heare hym speake euen now. And so set forth suche wordes as we would haue hym to saie.

Some tymes it is good to make God, the Countrie, or some one towne to speake, and loke what we woulde say in our owne person, to fraime the whole tale to them. Suche varietie doth muche good to auoide tediousenes, for he that speaketh al in one sort though he spake thinges neuer so wittely shal sone wery his hearers. Figures therfore wer inuented to auoide satietie, and cause delite: to refresh with pleasure & quicken with grace, the dulnesse of mãs braine. Who wil loke of a whit waul an houre together, where no workemanship is at al? Or who wil eate stil one kinde of meate, &

The vse of figures.

neuer

neuer desire chaunge: Certes as the mouthe is daintie: so the wit is tickle, and wil sone lothe an vnsauery thing.

¶ A stop, or half tellyng of a tale.

A Stoppe is, whē we breake of our tale before we haue told it. As thus. Thou that art a young man of suche towardnes hauyng suche frendes to plaie me suche a parte, wel, I will saie no more, God amende all that is amisse. Or thus. Dothe it become the to be, shal I tel al, Naie, I wil not for very shame. Preciſio.

¶ A close vnderstandyng.

A Close vnderstandyng is, when more may be gathered than is openly expresst. A naughtie fellowe that vsed muche robbery, founde hym selfe greeued that the greate Oratour Demosthenes spent so muche oyle wherby he watched from tyme to tyme in compassyng matters for the commune weale: In dede (quoth) Demosthenes darke nightes are best for thy purpose, meanyng that he was a great robber in the night. One also beeyng set in a heate, because another had contraried hym for the choise of meates, was muche more greued when he gaue hym this tauut. Pou may boldely (q he) speake for fishe eatyng, for my maister your father hath many a time & ofte wipt his nose vpon his sleeue, meanyng that his father was a fishemonger. Significatio plus ad intelligēdū q̄ dixeris. Demosthenes.

¶ Shorte sencences.

THen shorte clauses, or sentences are vsed when we speake at a worde, parte of our minde, and nest after speake as briefely againe, vsyng to make almost euery worde a perfite sentence. As thus. The man is sore wounded, I feare me he will dye. The Phisicions mistrust hym: the partie is fledde, none persueth; God sende vs good lucke. Distincte concisa breuitas.

¶ Abatyng, or lessenyng of a thyng.

WE make our doynges appere lesse, whē with wordes we extenuate and lessen the same. As when one had geuen his fellowe a sound blowe, beyng rebuked for the same saied he scante touched hym. Likewise, when two haue fought together, to say that the one had his legge prickte with a sworde, whē perchaunce he had a great wounde. Extenuatio.

Wbitty

¶ Wittie iesting.

Illusio.

MAny pleasaunt ientlemen are well practised in merie conceited iestes, and haue both suche grace and delite therin, that they are wonderfull to beholde, and better were it to be sharpely chidde of diuerse other, then pleasauntly taunted by any of thē. When a ientleman of great laudes & small witte had talked largely at a supper, and spake wordes scant worth the hearyng, an other beeyng muche greeued with his foolie, saied to hym: Sir I haue taken you for a plaine meanyng ientlemā, but I know nowe, there is not a more deceiptfull bodie in al England: with that, other beyng greeued with the young ientlemans foolie, boldely began to excuse hym for deceipt, and therfore said, he was to blame to charge hym with that fault, considering his nature was simple, and few can say that euer he was craftie. Wel q thother, I must nedes say he is deceiptful, for I toke hym heretofore for a sober wittie young man, but now I perceiue, he is a foolish bablyng felowe, & therfore I am sure he hath deceiued me like a false craftie child, as he is: with that they al laughed, and the ientleman was muche abashed. But as touchyng sharpe tauntes, I haue largely declared them in place, where I treated of laughter.

¶ Digression, or swarueyng from the matter.

Digressio abre non longa.

WE swarue sometymes from the matter vpon iust considerations, makyng the same to serue for our purpose as wel as if we had kepte the matter stil. As in making an inuectiue against rebelles, & largely setting out the filth of their offence, I might declare by the way of a digression, what a noble countrie England is, how great commodities it hath, what traffike here is vsed, & howe muche more nede other Realmes haue of vs, than we haue neede of them. Or when I shal geue euidence, or rather declame against an hainouse Murtherer, I may digresse from the offence doen, and enter in prayse of the deade man, declaryng his vertues in moste ample wyse, that the offense doen, may be thought so muche the greater, the more honest he was that hath thus been slaine.

Notwith-

Notwithstãdyng this would be learned, that (whē we make any suche digression) the same maie well agre to the purpose and be so set out, that it confounde not the cause, or darken the sense of the matter deuised.

¶ Proposicion.

Proposicion is a short rehersall of that, wherof we mynde to speake. I will tell you (q one) there is none hath a worse name then this felow, none hath been so often in trouble, he maie be fauteles, but I can hardely beleue it, there are enow that will testifie of his naughtines, and auouche his euill demeanour to bee suche, that the like hath not been hard heretofore. Propositio quid sis dicturus.

¶ An ouer passage to another matter.

When we go frō one matter to another, we vse this kynde of phraise. I haue tolde you the cause of all this euill, nowe I will tell you a remedy for the same. You haue heard of iustificacion by faith onely, now you shal here of the dignitee of workes, and how necessary thei are for euery christian body. Seiunctio as eo quod dictum est.

¶ Of commyng again to the matter.

When wee haue made a digression, wee maie declare our returne, and shewe that whereas wee haue roued a litle, we will now kepe vs within our boundes. In this kynd of digression, it is wisedome not to wander ouer farre, for feare wee shall werie the hearers, before we come to the matter again. I knew a preacher, that was a whole houre out of his matter, and at length remembryng hymself, saied, well, now to the purpose, as though al that, whiche he had spoken before, had been litle to the purpose, whereat many laughed, and some for starke wearinesse wer fain to go awaie. Reditus ad propositū.

¶ Iteratyng and repeatyng thynges said before.

When a man hath largely spoken his mynd, he may repeate in fewe wordes, the somme of his saiyng. As if one should be charged with felonie, that is a man of welth and honestie, he might thus gather his mynd together after a lōg tale told. First I wil proue there is no cause that I should steale, again that I could not possible at suche a Iteratio.

tyme steale, and last, that I stole not at all.

¶ The conclusion, or lappyng vp of matter.

Rationis apta conclusio.

THe conclusion, is an apt knittyng together of that, whiche we haue said before. As thus. If reason can perswade, if examples maie moue, if necessitee maie helpe, if pitee maie prouoke, if daungers foreseen, maie stirre vs to be wise: I doubte not but you will rather vse sharpe lawes, to represse offendours, then with dissolute negligence, suffer all to perishe.

¶ Mountyng aboue the truthe.

Veritatis superlatio, atq; traiectio.

MOuntyng aboue the truthe, is when we do setfurthe thynges excedyngly & aboue all mennes expectacion, meanyng onely that thei are very great. As thus, god promised to Abrahã, that he wold make his posteritee, egual with the sandes of the yearth. Now it was not so said, that there should be so many in deede, but that the nomber should bee infinite. For, whether we shall vnderstande those, to bee the children of Abraham, that came of his stocke in flesshe, or els take thẽ for the children of Abraham, that haue the faithe of Abraham: wee shall neuer proue the nomber of men, to bee eguall with the sandes of the sea, though wee could reken all that haue been, from the beginnyng of the worlde. Therfore in this speache, wee muste vnderstande there is a mountyng, called of the Grecians hyperbole: we vse this figure muche in English. As thus. He is as swift as a swallowe, he hath a belly as bigge as a barrell, he is a giaunt in makyng. The whole Temmese is litle enough to serue hym, for washyng his handes. In all whiche speaches wee mounte euermore a greate deale, and not meane so as the wordes are spoken.

☞ Askyng other, and answeryng our selfe.

Rogatio.

BY askyng other, and answeryng to the question our selfe, we muche commende the matter, and make it appere very pleasant. If I would rebuke one that hath committed a robberie, I might saie thus: I wonder what you ment to commit suche felonie. Haue you not landes? I knowe you haue. Are not your frendes worshipfull? Yes assuredly. Were you not beloued of them? No doubt you were. Could you haue wãted any thyng ỹ thei had? If you would haue eaten gold, you might haue had it. Did not thei alwayes

yes bidde you seke to them, and to none other: I knowe thei did. What euill happe had you then, to offende in suche sorte not goyng to your frendes, whiche would not se you want, but sekyng for that, whiche you should not haue, endaungeryng your self by untrue dealyng, to fele the power & strēgth of a law, whē otherwise you might haue liued in sauegarde:

The like kynd of writyng is also vsed, whē we make another body to speake, and yet not aske them any question at al. As when D. Haddon had comforted the duchesse of Suffolkes grace for her childrē, and had said thei wer happly gone because thei might haue fallen hereafter, and loste that worthy name, whiche at their death thei had: at last he bringeth in the mother, speakyng motherlike, in her childrens behalfe of this sort, and answereth still to her saiynges. But al these euilles wherof you speake (q̄ she) hadde not chaunced: Yet suche thynges doo chaunce. Yet not alwayes: Yet full ofte. Yet not to al: Yet to a great many. Yet thei had not chaunced to myne: Yet wee knowe not. Yet I might haue hoped: Yet better it had been to haue feared.

¶ Snappishe asking.

Percōtatio

WE doo aske oftentymes, because we would knowe: we do aske also, because we woulde chide, and sette furthe our grief with more vehemencie, the one is called Interrogatio, the other is called Percontatio. Tullie enueighyng against Catiline, that Romaine rebell, beginneth his oracion chidingly, questionyng with Catiline of this sort. How long (Catiline) wilt thou abuse our sufferaunce? How long will this rage and madnesse of thine go aboute to deceiue vs?

¶ Dissemblyng or close testyng.

Dissimutatio, alia dicentis ac significantis

WHen we iest closely, and with dissemblyng meanes, grigge our felowe, when in wordes wee speake one thyng, and meane in hart another thyng, declaryng either by our countenaunce, or by vtteraunce, or by some other waie, what our whole meanyng is. As when we se one bostyng himself, & vain glorious, to hold him vp with ye and naie, and euer to ad more to that, whiche he saieth. As I knowe one that saied hymself, to be in his awne iudgemēt

one of the beſt in all Englande, for tryng of metalles, & that the counſaill hath often called for his helpe, and cannot wãt hym for nothyng. In deede (q another) Englande had a ſore loſſe, if God ſhould call you. Thei are all Bungelers in cõpariſon of you, and I thynke the beſt of theim, maie thanke you for all that he hath: but yet ſir your cunnyng was ſuche, that you brought a ſhillyng to nyne pence, nale to ſixe pence and a grote to two pence, and ſo gaue hym a frumpe, euen to his face, becauſe he ſawe hym ſo foliſhe. A glorious ientlemã that had twoo ſeruauntes, and belike would be knowen not onely to haue them, but alſo to haue mo, ſaid in the preſence of a worſhipfull man, I meruaile muche where all my ſeruauntes are? Marie ſir (q one) that thoughte to hitte hym home: thei wer here al two, euen now. Thus he cloſely mockt hym, and worthely. For, the nomber is not greate, that ſtandeth vpõ .ij., and (all) is to muche, when we ſpeake of ſo fewe.

¶ Doubtfulneſſe.

Dubitacio. Doubtfulneſſe is then vſed, whẽ we make the hearers beleue, that the weight of our matter cauſeth vs to doubte, what were beſt to ſpeake. As when a kyng findeth his people vnfaithfull, he maie ſpeake in this wiſe. Before I begin, I doubt what to name ye. Shal I call you ſubiectes? You deſerue it not. My frendes ye are not. To cal you enemies wer ouerlitle, becauſe your offence is ſo greate. Rebelles you are, and yet that name doeth not fully vtter your folie. Traitors I maie call you, and yet you are worſe then traitors, for you ſeke his death, who hath geuen you life. Thoffence is ſo great, that no man can comprehend it. Therfore I doubt what to call you, except I ſhould call you by the name of theim all. Another. Whether ſhall I ſpeake, or holde my peace? If I ſpeake, you will not heare, if I holde my peace, my conſcience condempneth my ſilence.

¶ Diſtribucion.

Diſtributio Diſtribucion, is whẽ we apply to euery body, ſuche thynges as are due vnto them, declaryng what euery one is in his vocacion. It is the duetie of a Kyng, to haue an eſpeciall care ouer his whole realme. It is thoffice of his nobles, to cauſe the kynges will

to

to be fulfilled, and with all diligence to further his Lawes, and to se iustice doen euery where.

It is the part of a subiect, faithfully to do his princes cõmaundement, & with a willyng hart to serue him at al nedes.

It is thoffice of a bishop to setfurthe Gods worde, & with all diligence to exhort men to all godlinesse. It is an husbandes duetie to loue his wife, & with ientle meanes to rule her. It is the wifes office, hũbly to submit her self to her husbãdes will. Seruauntes should be faithfull to their maistres, not onely for feare of a law, but also for cõscience sake. Masters should vse their seruauntes accordyngly, paiyng theim that, whiche is due vnto them. A father should bryng vp his children in the feare of God. Children should reuerẽce their fathers with all submission. It is also called a distribucion, when we diuide the whole, into seuerall partes, and saie we haue foure poyntes, whereof we purpose to speake, comprehendyng our whole talke within compasse of the same.

¶ Correccion.

Correctio.

CDrreccion, is when we alter a woorde or sentence, otherwise then we haue spokẽ before, purposyng therby to augmẽt the matter, and to make it appere more vehemẽt. Tullie against Werres, geueth a good example. We haue broughte before you my Lordes, into this place of iudgement, not a theefe, but an extorcioner and violẽt robber, not an aduouterer, but a rauisher of maides, not a stealer of churche goodes, but an errant traitor, bothe to God and all godlinesse: not a common ruffin, but a moste cruell cut throte suche as if a man should rake hell for one, he could not finde the like. Again, if one would enueigh against backbiters, after this sort. Thou hast not robbed hym of his money, but thou hast taken awaie his good name, whiche passeth all worldly goodes, neither hast thou slaũdered thyne enemie, but thyne awne brother, & frende, that meant thee well, and hath doen thee pleasures: nay thou hast not slandred him, but thou hast slain hym. For a man is halfe hanged, that hath lost his good name. Neither hast thou killed him with the sword, but poysoned hym with thy tongue, so that I maie call it rather an enchanting, then a murther. Neither hast thou killed one mã

Tullie against Werres.

alone, but so many as thou hast brought out of charite, with thy moste venemous bacbityng Yea, and last of al, thou hast not slain a man, but thou hast slain Christe in his members, so muche as laie in thee to do. But of this figure I haue spoken heretofore, where I wrote of amplificacion.

¶ Reiection.

Reiectio. REiection is then vsed, when we lay suche faultes frō vs, as our enemies would charge vs with all, saiyng it is folye to thynke any suche thyng, muche more to speake it: or els to saie, suche a mannes worde is no slaunder, or it needeth not to talke of suche toyes. Or thus. Who wold thinke that I would doo suche a deede? Or is it like that I would do suche a dede? Antony charged Tully, that he was the occasion of ciuill battaill. May (q Tullie) it is thou, it is thou manne and none other, that settes Cesar on worke, to seke the slaughter of his countrey.

☞ A Buttresse.

premunitio A Buttresse is a fense made for that, whiche we purpose to hold vp, or go about to compasse. As thus. I hope my lordes, bothe to perswade this man by reason, & to haue your iudgemēt in this matter. For wheras it is a sore thyng to be iustly accused, for breaking frendship, then assuredly if one be wrōgfully slaundred, a man had nede to loke about him

☞ A familiar talke, or communicacion vsed.

Communicatio. COmmunicacion is then vsed, when we debate with other, and aske questiōs, as though we loked for an answer, and so go through with our matter, leauyng the iudgement therof to their discrecion. As thus. What thinke you in this matter? Is there any other better meanes to dispatche the thyng? What would you haue doen, if you were in the same case? Here I appeale to your awne conscience, whether you would suffer this vnpunished, if a man should do you the like displeasure.

☞ Description of a mannes nature, or maners.

Descriptio WE describe the maners of men, when we set thē further in their kynd what thei are. As in speakyng against a couetous man, thus. There is no suche pinche penye on liue, as this good felowe is. He will not lose the paryng of his

his nailes. His heire is neuer rounded, for sparyng of money one paire of shoen serueth hym a.xij.moneth, he is shod with nailes like a horse. He hath been knowē by his cote this.xxx winter. He spent ones a grote at good ale, beyng forced thorowe companie, and taken short at his worde, wherevpon he hath taken suche conceipt sins that tyme, that it hath almost cost hym his life. Tullie describeth Pilo for his naughtines of life, wonderfully to heare, yea, worse then I haue setfurth this coueteous man. Read the Oracion against Pilo, suche as be learned.

¶ Error.

Error is, when wee thinke muche otherwise then the truth is. As whē we haue conceiued a good opinion of some one man, & are often deceiued, to saie, who would haue thought, that he euer would haue doen so. Now of all menne vpon yearth, I would haue least suspected hym: But suche is the world. Or thus. You thinke suche a man a worthy personage, and of muche honestie, but I will proue, that he is muche otherwise: a man would not thynke it, but if I do not proue it, I will geue you my hedde. Erroris inductio,

¶ Mirthe makyng.

I Haue heretofore largely declared, the waies of mirth making, & therfore I litle nede to renue thē here in this place In hilaritatē impulsio

¶ Anticipacion, or Preuencion.

Anticipacion, is when we preuent those wordes, that another would saie, and disproue theim as vntrue, or at least wise, answere vnto them. A Godly Preacher enueighed earnestly against those, that would not haue the Bible to bee in Englishe, and after earnest probacion of his cause, saied thus: but me thynkes I heare one saie. Sir, you make muche a dooe, aboute a litle matter, what were we the worse, if we had no scripture at al? To whom he answered: the scripture is left vnto vs by Goddes awne will, that the rather we might knowe his commaundementes, & liue therafter al the daies of our life. Sometymes this figure is vsed when we saie, we will not speake this or that, & yet doo notwithstandyng. As thus. Suche a one is an Officer, I will not saie a briber. Righte is hyndered throughe mighte, Ante occupatio.

I

I will not saie, ouerwhelmed. Thus in saiyng we will not speake, we speake our mynde after a sort, notwithstandyng.

¶ A Similitude.

Similitudo

A Similitude is a likenesse when .ij. thynges, or mo then two, are so cõpared and resembled together, that thei bothe in some one propertie seme like. Oftentymes brute beastes, and thynges that haue no life, minister greate matter in this behalfe. Therefore those that delite to proue thynges by similitudes, must learne to knowe the nature of diuerse beastes, of metalles, of stones and al suche, as haue any vertue in them, & be applied to mannes life. Sometymes in a worde appereth a similitude, whiche beyng dilated helpeth wel for amplificaciõ. As thus. Thou striue against the streme, better bowe then breake. It is euill runnyng against a stone wall. A man maie loue his house wel, and yet not ride vpon the ridge. By all whiche, any one maie gather a similitude, and enlarge it at pleasure. The prouerbes of Heiwode helpe wonderfull well for this purpose. In comparyng a thyng from the lesse to the greater, Similitudes helpe well to set out the matter. That if we purpose to dilate our cause hereby with poses and sentences, wee maie with ease talke at large. This shall serue for an example. The more precious a thyng is, the more diligently should it bee kepte, and better hede taken to it. Therfore tyme, (cõsideryng, nothyng is more precious,) should warely bee vsed, and good care taken, that no tyme bee lost, without some profite gotten. For if thei are to be punished, that spende their money, and waist their landes, what folie is it, not to thynke theim worthie muche more blame, that spend their tyme (whiche is the chiefest treasure that God geueth) either idlely, or els vngodly? For what other thyng doeth manne lose, when he loseth his tyme, but his life? And what can bee more deare to man, then his life? If wee lose a litle money, or a ryng of golde with a stone in it, we compt that greate losse. And I praie you, whē wee lose a whole daie, whiche is a good portion of a mannes life, shall wee not compte that a losse, consideryng though our money bee gone, wee maie recouer the same again, but tyme lost can neuer be called backe again. Again whē we lose

Similitude enlarged.

our

our money, some body getteth good by it, but the losse of time turneth to no mannes auayle. There is no man that loseth in anye other thynge, but some body gayneth by it, saynge onelye in the losse of time. Yea, it hathe saued the lyfe of some, to lose al that they hadde. For riches be the occasion sometimes of muche mischiefe in this lyfe, so that it were better sometymes wastefullye to spende, then warely to keepe: by the losse of time, no man hath profited him selfe any thing at all. Besides this, the better & more precious a thing is, the more shame to spēd it fondly. Though mē kepe their goodes neuer so close, and locke them vp neuer so fast, yet often times, either by some mischaunce of fyre, or other thinge, they are lost, or els desperate Dickes borowes nowe and then againste the owners wille, all that euer he hathe. And now though ỹ owner be vndone, yet is he not therfore dishonest, considerynge honestye standeth not in wealthe or heapes of money: But the losse of tyme, seynge it happeneth throughe oure owne folye, not onelye dothe it make vs wretches, but also causeth menne to thinke that wee are paste all grace. A wonderfull kynde of infamie, when the whole blame shall reste vpon none other mannes necke, but vpon his onelye that suffereth all the harme. Wyth money a manne maye bye lande, but none can gette honestie of that pryce: and yet with well vsinge of tyme, a manne not onely might get him muche worshippe, but also myghte purchase himselfe a name for euer. Yea, in a smal time a man might get greate fame, and liue in much estimation. By losinge of money wee lose little elles: by losynge of time, wee lose all the goodnes and gyftes of GOD, whiche by labour might be hadde.

Thus a Similitude myghte be enlarged by heappynge good sentences, when one thinge is compared wyth an other, and a conclusion made therupon.

Emonge the learned menne of the Churche, no one vseth this figure more then Chrisostome, whose writynges the rather seme more pleasaunte and swete. For similitudes are not onelye vsed to amplifie a matter, but also to beautifie the same, to delite the hearers, to make the matter playne,

and to shewe a certaine maiestye wyth the reporte of suche resembled thinges, but because I haue spoke of similitudes heretofore in the boke of Logique, I will surcesse to talke anye further of this matter.

☞ Example.

Exemplum HE that myndeth to perswade, muste neades be well stored with examples. And therfore muche are they to be commended whiche searche Chronicles of all ages, and compare the state of our elders, with this presente time. The history of Goddes boke to the christian is infallible, and therfore the rehearsall of suche good thinges as are therin conteyned, moue the faythfull to all vpright doinge and amendmente of their lyfe. The Ethnicke aucthoures styre the hearers, beynge well applyed to the the purpose. For when it shall be reported that they whiche hadde no knowledge of God, liued in a brotherlye loue, one towardes an other, detested aduoutrye, banished periures, hanged the vnthanckefull, kepte the pole withoute meate, tyll they laboured for their liuynge, suffered none extorcion, exempted Bribers frome bearynge rule in the commune Weale: the Christians muste neades be ashamed of their cupll behauiour, and studye much to passe those, whiche are in callynge muche vnder theim, and not suffer that the ignorannte and Paganes lyfe, shall counteruayle the taughte chyldren of God, and passe the Christians so much in good liuynge, as the Christians passe theim in good learninge. Vneguall examples commende muche the matter. I call theim vneguall, when the weaker is brought in against the stronger, as if chyldren be faythfull, much more ought menne to be faythfull. If womenne be chaste, and vndefiled: menne shoulde muche more be cleane, and wythoute faulte. If an vnlearned manne wyll do no wronge, a learned man and a preacher muste muche more be vpright, and liue without blame. If an housholder will deale iustlye with his seruauntes, a Kynge muste muche the rather deale iustelye with his subjectes.

Exa-

Examples gathered out of hiſtories and vſed in this ſort, helpe muche towardes perſwaſion. Yea, brute beaſtes miniſter greate occaſion of righte good matter, conſiderynge manye of theim haue ſhewen vnto vs, the paternes and ymages of diuers vertues.

Doues ſeyng an hauke, gather all together, teachynge vs none other thing, but in aduerſitie to ſticke one to another. Doues

Craynes in the nyght haue their watche, warninge vs neuer to be careleſſe, for if their watche faile them, they al neuer leaue tyll they haue killed that one Crayne, teachyng vs that no traytours are worthye to liue vpon earth. The watche for his ſafegarde, and becauſe he woulde not ſlepe: holdeth a ſtone in his fote, the which falleth from him, whē he beginneth to ware heauy, and ſo he kepeth him ſelfe ſtyll wakyng. Wherby wee maye learne that all menne in their vocation ſhoulde be right ware and watchfull. The Henne clocketh her chickens, feadeth them, and kepeth theim from the Kyte. Womenne muſt clocke their children, bring them vp well, and kepe them from euill happe. Nowe I myght in ſpeakinge of ſome odious vyce, largelye ſette oute ſome example belonginge to the ſame, and compare it with other by heapinge of Chronicles, and matchinge of thynges together. Cranes

The vnthankefull in this age (whereof there is no ſmall number) can not haue enoughe laide againſte theim. And therfore I am minded to ſaye ſomewhat againſte theim, to the vtter abhorrynge of all ſuche vnkynde dealynge. For he that is vnthankeful, and for herty loue, ſheweth cankard hatred: wanteth all other Vertues, that are required to be in manne. The chiefe perfection and the abſolute fulfillyng of the Lawe, ſtandeth in the loue which manne oweth firſt to God, and nexte to his neighboure. Lette a manne haue fayth that he may be able to tranſlate mountaines (as ſaint Paule ſayeth:) yea, let him haue neuer ſo good qualities, or be he neuer ſo politique a manne for the ſaulfegarde of his Countrey, be he neuer ſo wiſe, ſo ware, and ſo watchful: yet if he wante Loue, he is nothynge elles but as a ſoundinge braſſe, or a tinckelinge Cymbal. Vnthankefulnes how euil it is

Nowe he that is churlishe and vnthankefull, muste neades waute loue, and therfore wanteth he all other goodnes.

Vnthankefulnes punyshed by the Persias with death

The Persians therfore seyng the greatenes of this offence and that where it rested, all vyces for euer were banished: prouided by a law that suche should suffer death as felons, which were founde faultye with vnthankefulnes.

And yet I can not see but they deserue rather an exquisite kynde of Deathe (suche as fewe haue sene, or fewe haue felte) then to suffer lyke Deathe with other, that haue not like offended wyth them.

But nowe because this offence is an euill most odious, and the principal occasion of all other mischiefe, I will set forthe three notable examples, the one of a Dragon, the seconde of a Dogge, and the thirde of a Lyon (whiche all thre in thankefulnes, if that be true whiche is reported of theim wonderfullye exceaded,) and the rather I seke to set theim oute, that the wycked herebye maye well knowe what they theim selues are, when bruite Beastes shall sette theim al to schole.

Thankfulnes of a Dragon

There was a manne (as Plinie writeth) whiche fostered vp a yong Dragon, who seynge the same beaste to ware wonderfull greate, feared to kepe his Dragon anye longer within his house, and therfore he put him out into a wylde Forest. It happened afterwarde that the same manne traueylinge on hys iourney throughe the Forest, was beset with thieues. And nowe beynge in this distresse, and lokinge for none other ende but deathe, made (as lothe to departe) a greate showte and an outcrye: strayghte vpon whose noyse, and at the knowledge of his voyce, the Dragō came to him in all the haste possible. Wherupon the theues beinge greatelye afrayed, ranne cleane awaye to saue theim selues harmeles. Thus throughe the thanckefulnes of a Dragon, this mans life was saued.

Thākefulnes of a Dogge.

The dogge of the Romaine Fuluius is more wonderfull. This Fuluius traueylinge by the waye, was slayne wyth slaues that laye in wayte for him. Hys Dogge seynge his master deade, laye by him for the space of two dayes. Wherupon when the manne was missinge, and searche made for him: they founde him dead, with his Dogge lyynge by him.

Some

Some marueylinge to see the Dogge lye there by hys deade master, stroke him, and woulde haue driuen him from the deade corse, and coulde not: some seynge suche kindenes in the Dogge, and pitiynge him that he should lye there wt̄ ont meate, two or thre dayes before: cast him a pece of flesh, wherupon the Dogge strayghte caried the meate to his masters mouthe, and woulde not eate anye whitte him selfe, thoughe he hadde forborne meate so longe before. And last of all, when this deade bodye shoulde be caste into the riuer, (according to the maner of the Romaines) the Dogge leapt in after, and holdynge vp his maister so longe as he coulde, did chose rather to dye with him, thē to liue without him.

The Lyon (wherof Appian the Grammarian doth speake) is also straunge for his kindenes, and almost incredible. A seruaunte that hadde runne awaye from his master, and hidde him selfe for feare in a caue, within a greate woodde, toke a thorne out of a Lions fote, whiche then came to him for succour as he lay there. Now whē he had done, the lion to requite his good turne, brought suche meate to the caue, as he coulde kyll in the woode. The whiche meate the Seruaunte rostynge againste the Sunne, (beynge in the mooste hotte countrey of all Affrica) did eate from time to time. At length yet being werye of suche a lothesome lyfe, he left the caue, & came abrode, by meanes wherof, he was takē again, and beinge a slaue to his master (who hadde power of life & deathe ouer him) he was condempned to be cast to the wylde beastes at Rome, there to be deuoured of a Lyon. The pore caytife stode pitifullye in the sighte of thoulandes, euer lokinge when he sholde be deuoured. It happened at the same time, when this felow was thus adiudged to dye: that the same Lyon was taken, whose foote he healed in the wood. When the Lyon was putte to him, he came firste very terribly towarde this felowe, and immediatly knowyng what he was, stoode styll, and at length fauned gently vpon him. The felow at firste being amased, began to take harte vnto him afterwardes, as halfe knowing him likewise, and thus they began bothe to take acquaintaunce thone of thother, & played together a good space withoute all daunger, wher-

Thākefulnes of a Lyon.

upon the people beynge amased, muche wondered at the straungenes of this thinge. And standinge thus astonied, they sente to knowe of the slaue, what this matter shoulde meane. Unto whom this poore wretche opened the whole thynge altogether, euen as it happened. When the people hearde this, they not onely reioysed much at the sight therof, but also they made earnest requeste to his Master for his lyfe. His master marueylinge as muche as anye of them, at suche an vnwonte kyndenes: gaue him not onelye hys life, but also his fredome. And nowe to the ende he myght haue somewhat whereupon to lyue, the people gaue hym a fee for terme of his lyfe. The felowe by and by gotte him a lime and a coler, and caried the Lyon vp and downe the citye in suche sorte, as huntesmenne carye a Greyhounde, or a Spaniell, the people still wonderynge, and sayinge euer as he came bye: Beholde a manne that hath cured a Lyon, beholde a Lyon that hath saued a man.

The whiche example, the more straunge it is, the more ashamed maye they be that are vnnaturall, and maye learne kindenes of a bruite Beaste. For suche menne beynge ouercome with kindnes by Beastes, are worse then Beastes, & more mete rather to be tormented with Deuils, then to liue with men.

Of enlargynge examples by copye.

And now because examples enriched by Copy, helpe muche for Amplification: I will geue a taste, howe these and suche lyke Histories maye be encreased. And for the better handelynge of theim, nedefull it is to marke well the circumstaūces: that beynge well obserued and compared together on bothe partes, they maye the rather be enlarged.

Example enlarged.

As thus. That whiche bruite Beastes haue doone, shalt thou being a man seme not to haue done? They shewed them selues natural, and wilt thou appeare vnnaturall? Nay they ouercame nature, and wilte thou be ouercome of them? They became of beastes in bodye, men in nature, and wilt thou become of a manne in bodye, a Beaste in nature? They beinge without reason, declared the propertye of reaso:

reasonable creatures, and wilte thou beinge a man endued wyth reason, appeare in thy doynges altogether vnreasonable? Shall Dogges be thankefull: and menne, yea, christian menne wante suche a vertue? Shall wormes shewe suche kindenes: and menne appeare graceleſſe? It had ben no matter if they had bene vnthankefull: but man can neuer escape blame, seinge God hathe commaunded, and Nature hathe grafted this in all menne: that they shoulde do to other, as they woulde be done vnto. Agayne, they for meate onelye shewed them selues so kinde: and shal man for so many benefites receiued, and for such goodnes shewed, requite for good will, euil dedes: for hartie loue, deadlye hatred: for vertue, vyce: and for life geuen to him, yelde death to other? Nature hath parted man and beast: and shall man in nature be no manne? Shamed be that wretche that goeth agaynst nature, that onelye hath the shape of a man, and in nature is worse then a beast. Yea, worthye are all suche rather to be torne with deuils, then to liue with men. Thus an example might moste copiouslye be augmented, but thus muche for this time is sufficient.

The saiynge of Poets and all their fables are not to be forgotten, for by them we may talke at large, and winne mē by perswasion, if wee declare before hande, that these tales were not fayned of suche wise menne without cause, neither yet continued vntyll this tyme, and kepte in memorie without good consideration, and therupon declare the true meanynge of all suche writinge. For vndoubtedlye there is no one tale emonge al the Poetes, but vnder the same is comprehended some thinge that pertaynyeth eyther to the amendemente of maners, to the knowledge of trueth, to the settynge forthe of Natures woorcke, or elles to the vnderstandinge of some notable thynge done. For what other is the paynefull trauayle of Ulisses discribed so largelye by Homere, but a liuely picture of mans miserie in this life.

Poeticall narrations profitable.

And as Plutarche sayth: and likewise Basilius Magnus: In the Iliades are described strengthe and valeantenes of the bodye: In Odissea is set forthe a lyuelye Paterne of the minde.

The

Poets vnder coloures shew muche wisdome.

The Poetes were wise men, & wished in harte the redresse of thinges, the whiche when for feare they durst not openly rebuke, thei didde in coloures paynte theim oute, and tolde menne by shadowes what they shoulde do in good south: or els because the wycked were vnworthy to heare the truth, they spake so, that none myght vnderstande, but those vnto whom they pleased to vtter their meaninge, and knewe the to be menne of honeste conuersation.

Danae

We reade of Danae the fayre damosel, whom Iuppiter tempted full ofte, and coulde neuer haue his pleasure, tyll at length e he made it raine golde, and so as shee sate in her chimney, a greate deale fell vpon her lappe, the whyche shee toke gladly, and kepte it there: within the which gold Iuppiter him selfe was comprehended, wherby is none other thynge elles signified, but that women haue bene, and wyll be ouercome with money.

Ios

Likewise Iuppiter fansleinge the fayre maide Ios could not haue his will, till he turned him selfe into a fayre whyte Bull, whiche signified that beautie may ouercome the best.

If a manne woulde speake agaynste couetous Caytifes, can he better shewe what they are, then by settynge forthe the straunge plague of Tantalus, who is reported to be in Hell, hauinge water comminge styll to his chynne, and yet neuer able to drynke: and an apple hangyng before his mouthe, and yet neuer able to eate.

Tantalus

Icarus.

Icarus woulde nedes haue wynges and flye contrary to nature, wherupon when he hadde them sette together with ware, and ioyned to his syde, he mounted vp into the ayre. But so sone as the sunne hadde somewhat heated him, and his ware began to melte, he fel downe into a greate Riuer, and was drowned out of hande, the whiche water was euer after called by his name. Now what other thing dothe this tale shewe vs, but that euerye man should not meddle with thinges aboue his compasse.

Midas.

Midas desiered that whatsoeuer he touched, the same might be golde: wherupon when Iuppiter hadde graunted him his bounde: his meate, drinke, and al other thinges turned into gold, and he choked with his owne desire, as al couetous

couetouſe men lightely ſhalbe, than can neuer bee content when they haue enough.

What other thyng are the wonderfull labours of Hercules, but that reaſon ſhoulde withſtande affection, and the ſpirite for euer ſhould fight, againſt the fleſhe? We Chriſtians had like fables heretofore of ioyly felowes, the Images wherof were ſet vp (in Gods name) euen in our Churches. But is any man ſo mad to thynk that euer there was ſuche a one as S. Chriſtofer was painted vnto vs? Mary God forbid. Aſſuredly when he liued vpō earth there were other houſes builded for hym, then we haue at this tyme, and I thynke tailers were muche troubled to take meaſure of him for makyng his garmentes. He might be of kynne to Garganteo, if he were as bigge as he is ſet forthe in Antwerpe. But this was the meanyng of our elders (and the name ſelf doth ſignifie none other) that euery mā ſhould beare Chriſt vpon his backe, that is to ſay, he ſhould loue his brother as Chriſte loued vs, and gaue his body for vs: he ſhoulde trauaile through hunger, colde, ſorowe, ſickenes, deathe, and al daungers with al ſufferaunce that might be. And whether ſhould he trauaile? to the euerliuyng GOD, but how? In darkenes? No forſouth, by the light of his word. And therfore Sainct Chriſtofer beyng in the Sea, and not well able to gette out (that is to ſay beyng almoſt drouned in ſynne, & not knowyng whiche waie beſt to eſcape) an Heremite appered vnto hym with a lāterne & a light therein, the whiche dothe ſignifie none other thyng to the Chriſtian but the true woorde of God, whiche lighteneth the hartes of men, & geueth vnderſtandyng to the youngelinges (as the Prophet doth ſaie). Againe, Sainct George he is ſet on horſebacke & killeth a Dragon with his ſpeare, whiche Dragon woulde haue deuoured a virgine, whereby is none other thyng mēt but that a Kyng and euery man vnto whom therecution of iuſtice is committed, ſhould defende the innocent againſt the vngodly attemptes of the wicked, and rather kill ſuche deuilles by marcial law, than ſuffer the innocentes to take any wrong. But who gaue our clargie any ſuche authoritie that thoſe monſters ſhoulde bee in Churches as laye mens

Hercules labours what they ſignified.

S. Chriſtofer what he ſignified.

S. George on horſe backe.

Bookes? God forbadde by expresse worde to make any grauen Image, and shal we be so bolde to breake Gods will for a good entent, and call these Idolles late mens Bookes? I could talke more largely of examples, & heape a nomber here together, aswell of Ethnike Aucthours, as of other here at home: but for feare I should be tediouse, these for this tyme shal suffise.

Of Fables.

Apologi.

THe feigned fables, such as are attributed vnto brute beastes, would not be forgotten at any hand. For not onely they delite the rude & ignoraunt, but also they helpe muche for perswasion. And because suche as speake in open audience haue euer moe fooles to heare them than wise men to geue iudgement: I would thynke it not amisse, to speake muche accordyng to the nature and fansie of the ignoraunt, that the rather thei might be wonne through fables, to learne more weightie & graue matters. For al men cannot brooke sage causes, and auncient collacions: but will lyke earnest matters the rather, if some thing be spokē there emong agreyng to their natures. The multitude (as Horace doth say) is a beast, or rather amōster that hath many heades and therefore like vnto the diuersitie of natures, varietie of inuencion must alwaies be vsed. Talke altogether of moste graue matters, or depely searche out the ground of thynges or vse the Quiddities of Dunce to sette forth Gods misteries: & you shal see the ignoraunt (I warrant you) either fal a slepe, or elles bid you farewel. The multitude must needes be made merry: & the more foolish your talke is, the more wise will they counte it to be. And yet it is no foolishnesse, but rather wisedome to wynne men by tellyng of fables to heare of Gods goodnesse. Undoubtedly fables well sette forthe, haue doen muche good at diuerse tymes, and in diuerse cōmune weales. The Romaine Menenius Agrippa allegyng vpon a tyme a fable of the conflicte made betwixt the partes of a mans bodie, and his belie: quieted a marueilouse stirre that was lyke to ensewe & pacified the vprore of sedicioulse rebelles, whiche els thought for euer to destroy their countrie. Themistocles perswaded the Athenias not to chaunge their

Fables how nedeful they ere to teache the ignoraūte.

their Officers, by rehersyng the fable of a scabbed fore. For (q he) when many flees stode feedyng vpon his rawe flesshe, & had wel fedde themselues, he was contented at anothers persuasion, to haue them flapte away: whereupon their ensewed suche hungry flees afterwardes, that the sorie fore beyng al alone was eaten vp almost to the harde boone, and therefore cursed the tyme that euery he agreed to any suche euil counsel. In lyke maner (q Themistocles) if you will chaunge Officers, the hungry flees will eate you vp one after another, whereas now you liue beyng but onely bitten, and lyke to haue no farther harme, but rather muche welth and quietuesse hereafter, because they are filled, and haue enough, that heretofore suckte so muche of your bloud.

Now likewyse as I gaue a lesson how to enlarge an example, so may fables also in lyke sorte be sette out, & augmented at large by Amplification. Thus muche for the vse of fables. Againe, sometymes feined Narrations and wittie inuented matters (as though they were true in deede) helpe wel to set forwarde a cause, & haue great grace in the, beyng aptely vsed & wel inuented. Luciane passeth in this pointe: & sir Thomas More for his Eutopia can soner be remembred of me, then worthely praised of any according as the excellencie of his inuencion in that behaulf doth most iustly require.

¶ Digestion.

Digestio.

Digestion is an orderly placyng of thynges, partyng euery matter seuerally. Tullie hath an example hereof in his Oration whiche he made for Sextus Roscius Amarinus. There are three thynges (q Tullie) whiche hynder Sextus Roscius at this tyme, the accusacion of his aduersaries, the boldenes of them, and the power that they beare. Erucius his accuser hath taken vpō hym to forge false matter, the Roscians kinsfolke haue boldly aduentured, & wil face out their doynges, & Chrisogonus here, that most can do, wil presse vs with his power.

¶ A whisht, or a warnyng to speake no more.

Reticentia.

A whisht, is when we bid them holde their peace that haue least cause to speake, and can do litle good with their talkyng. Diogenes beeyng vpon the Sea emong

a number of naughtie packes in a greate storme of wether, when diuerse of these wicked felowes cried out for feare of drowning, some with fained prayour to Iuppiter, some to Neptune, and euery one as they beste fantaised the goddes aboue: whishte (q Diogenes) for by Gods mother, if God hym selfe knowe you be here, you are lyke to be drowned euery mothers sonne of you. Meanyng that they were so nought, and so fainedly made their prayour to false Godes without mynde to amende their naughtie lyfe, that the lyeyng God woulde not leaue them vnpunished though they cried neuer so fast. Wee vse this figure likewyse, when in speakyng of any man: we saie, whisht, the woulfe it at hand: when the same man cometh in the meane season, of whome we spake before.

Diogenes.

¶ Contrarietie.

Contentio.

COntrarietie is, when our talke standeth by contrarie wordes, or sentences together. As thus wee mighte dispraise some one man. he is of a straunge nature as euer I sawe, for to his frende he is churlishe, to his foe he is gentle: geue him faire wordes, and you offende hym: checke hym sharpely, and you wynne hym. Let hym haue his will, and he will flye in your face: kepe hym shorte, and you shal haue hym at commaundement.

¶ Frenesse of speache.

Liberavox

FReenesse of speache, is when wee speake boldely, & without feare, euen to the proudest of them, whatsoeuer we please, or haue list to speake. Diogenes herein did excel, and feared no man when he sawe iust cause to saie his mynde. This worlde wanteth suche as he was, and hath ouer many suche, as neuer honest mā was, that is to say, flatterers, fawners, and southers of mennes saiynges.

¶ Stomake griefe.

Iracundia.

STomake griefe, is when we will take the matter as hote as a toste. We nede no examples for this matter, hote men haue to many, of whom they may be bould and spare not, that fynde them selues a colde. Some tymes we

we entreate earnestly and make meanes by prayer to wynne fauour. Sometymes we seke fauour by speakyng well of the companie present. As. Thorowe your helpe my lordes this good deede hath been done. Some tymes we speake to hurte our aduersaries, by settyng forth their euil behauior. Some tymes we excuse a fault, and accuse the reporters. Sometymes we wishe vnto God for redresse of euil. Sometimes we curse the extreme wickednes of some pastgood roisters. In al whiche I thynke neither examples neede, nor yet any rehersal had been greately necessarie, cõsidering al these come without any great learnyng, sauing that for apt bestowing, iudgement is right nedeful.

Deprecatio Cõciliatio. Læsio. Purgatio. Optatio. Execratio.

¶ Of figures in sentencies, called Schemes.

When any sentence vpon the placyng, or settyng of wordes, is said to be a figure: the said is alwaies called a Scheme, the whiche wordes beyng altered, or displaced, the figure streight doth lose his name, and is called no more a scheme. Of this sorte there be diuerse, suche as hereafter folowe.

¶ Doublettes.

Doublettes, is when we reherse one and the same worde twise together. Ah wretche, wretche, that I am. Tullie against Catiline inueighyng sore against his traiterouse attemptes, saith after a lõg rehersed matter, and yet notwithstandyng all this notourious wickednesse: the mã liueth stil, liueth? May mary he cometh into the counsel house whiche is more. An other: Darrest thou showe thy face, thou wretched theef, thou theefe I sate to thyne owne father, darrest thou looke abrode? Thus the ofte repeatyng of one worde doth munhe stirre the hearer, and makes the worde seeme greater, as though a sworde were ofte digged & thrust twise, or thrise in one place of the bodie.

Geminatio verborum.

¶ Alteryng parte of a worde.

Alteryng parte of a word, is when we take a letter, or A sillable from some word, or els adde a letter, or sillable to a worde. As thus. William Somer seyng muche a do for accomptes makyng, & that the Kynges Maiestie of

Paulum immutatum verbum.

most worthie memorie Henry theight wanted mony suche as was due vnto hym: And please your grace (q he) you haue so many frauditours, so many conueiers, and so many deceiuers to get vp your money, that they get al to themselues. Whether he said true, or no, let God iudge that. it was vnhappely spoken of a foole, & I thynke he had some Schoolemaister: he shoulde haue saied Auditours, Surueyours, and Receauours.

¶ Repetition.

Repetitio a primo.

REpetition is when we begynne diuerse sentencies one after another with one and thesame worde. As thus: When thou shalt appere at the terrible date of iudgemēt before the high maiestie of God, where is then thy richesse? where is then thy deintie faire? where is thē thy great band of men? where are then thy faire houses? wher are then al thy lādes, pastures, parkes, & forestes? I might saie thus of our soueraine lord the Kynges maiestie that now is. Kyng Edwarde hath ouerthrowne idololatrie: Kyng Edwarde hath banished superstition: Kyng Edward by Gods helpe hath brought vs to the true knowlege of our creation: Kyng Edwarde hath quieted our cōsciencies, & laboured that al his people should seeke healthe by the death and Passion of Christ alone.

¶ Conuersion.

Conuersio eiusdem in extremum.

COnuersion is an ofte repeatyng of the last worde, & is contrarie to that which went before. Whē iust dealing is not vsed: welth goeth away, frendship goeth away, truth goeth awaie, all goodnes (to speake at a worde) goeth awaie. Where affections beare rule, there reason is subdued, honestie is subdued, good wil is subdued, & al thinges els that withstande euil, for euer are subdued.

¶ Comprehension.

Conuersio in eadem.

COmprehension, is when bothe the aboue rehersed figures are in one kynd of speakyng vsed, so that bothe one first worde must ofte be rehersed, & likewise al one last worde. What winneth the hartes of men? Liberalitie. What causeth men to aduenture their lifes. and dye willyngly in defence of their masters? Liberalitie. What cōtinueth

tinueth the state of a Kyng: Liberalitie. What becometh a woman best, & first of all: Silence. What seconde: Silence. What third: Silence. What fourth: Silence. Yea if a man should aske me til dowmes day, I would still crie, silence, silence, without the whiche no woman hath any good gifte, but hauing the same, no doubt she must haue many other notable giftes, as the whiche of necessitie do euer folow suche a vertue. Silence becometh a woman best.

¶ Progression.

Progressio

A Progression standeth vpõ contrarie sentences which answere one another. If we would rebuke a naughty boie, we might with cõmendyng a good boie, say thus. What a boie art thou in cõparison of this fellow here. Thou sleapes: he wakes: thou plaies: he studies: thou art euer abrode: he is euer at home: thou neuer waites: he stil doth his attendaunce: thou carest for no body: he doeth his dutie to al men: thou doest what thou canst to hurt al, & please none: he doth what he can, to hurte none, & please all.

¶ Lyke endyng, and lyke fallyng.

Similiter desinens. similiter cadens.

Then the sentences are said to ende lyke, when those wordes do end in like sillables, which do lacke cases. Thou liues wickedly, thou speakes naughtely. The rebelles of Northfolke (q a most worthie man that made an inuectiue against the) through slaueric, slew Nobilitie: in dede miserably, in fashiõ cruelly, in cause deuilishly.

Sentencies also are said to fal like, when diuerse wordes in one sentencie ende in lyke cases, & that in ryme. By great trauaile is got muche availe, by earnest affection, men learne discrecion.

These .ij. kyndes of Eromacion are then most delitefull when contrarie thynges are repeated together: when that ones again is vtterde, whiche before was spoken: when sentencies are turned, and letters are altered. Of the first this may be an example: Where learnyng is loued, there labour is esteemed: but wher sleuth is thought solace, there rudenes taketh place. A Kyng is honoured, that is a Kyng in dede. wil you drink or you go, or wil you go or you drinke. There is a difference betwixt an horsemilne, & a milnehorse. He is a

meter

meter man to driue the Carte, than to serue in the Courte. Through labour cometh honour, through ydell lyuyng followeth hangyng. Diuerse in this our tyme delite muche in this kynd of writyng, whiche beeyng measurably vsed, delliteth muche the hearers, otherwyse it offendeth, and werieth mens eares with tacitie. S. Augustine had a goodly gifte in this behaulf, & yet some thinkes he forgot measure, and vsed ouermuche this kynde of figure. Notwithstandyng the people were suche wher he liued, that they toke muche delite in rimed sentences, & in Orations made ballade wise. Yea thei were so nyce & so waiwarde to please, that excepte the Preacher from tyme to tyme coulde ryme out his Sermon, they woulde not long abide the hearyng. Tacitus also sheweth that in his tyme, the iudges & sergeauntes at the lawe were driuen to vse this kynd of phrase both in their writyng, & also in their speakyng. Yea great lordes would thynk thẽselfes contẽpned, if learned men (when they spake before thẽ) sought not to speake in this sorte. So that for the flowyng stile, & ful sentence, crepte in mynstrelles elocution, talkyng matters altogether in rime, & for weightinesse & grauitie of wordes, succeded nothyng els but wantonnesse of inuencion Tullie was forsaken, with Liuie, Cesar, & other: And Apuleius, Aulonius, with suche mynstrell makers were altogether folowed. And I thynke the Popes heretofore (seeyng the peoples folie to be suche) made al our Hymnes & Anthemes in rime, that with the singyng of mẽ, playyng of organnes, ringyng of belles, & rimyng of Hymnes, & Sequencies the poore ignoraunt might thinke the Harmonie to be heauenly, & verely beleue that the Angels of God made not a better noise in heauen. I speake thusmuche of these two figures, not that I thinke folie to vse them (for thei are pleasaunt & praise worthie) but my talke is to this end, that thei shoulde neither onely, nor chefely be vsed, as I know some in this our time do ouermuche vse them in their writynges. And ouermuche (as al men know) was neuer good yet. Yea a man may haue ouermuche of his mothers blessyng if she wil neuer leaue blessyng. Therefore a measure is best, yea euen in the best thynges. And thus farre for these .ij. figures.

Augustine.

Tacitus.

Rymed sentences vsed without measure.

Rymes made, to mocke the simple.

Egual

¶ Æqual members.

EGuall members are suche, when the one halfe of the sentence answereth to the other, with iust proporciō of nomber, not that the sillables of necessitee, should be of iust nōbre, but that the eare might iudge them, to bee so eguall, that there maie appere small difference. As thus. Lawe without mercie, is extreme power, yet men thorowe folie, deserue suche iustice. Learnyng is daungerous, if an euill man haue it. The more noble a manne is, the more gentle he should be. Isocrates passeth in this behalfe, who is thought to write altogether in nomber, keppng iust proporcion in frampng of his sentence. Paria paribus relata.

¶ Like emong themselfes.

SEntences are called like, when contraries are set together, and the firste taketh asmuche as the other folowyng: and the other folowyng taketh asmuche a waie, as that did, whiche went before. As thus. Lust hath ouercome shamefastenesse, impudencie hath ouercome feare, and madnesse hath ouercome reason. Or els sentences are said to be like emong themselfes, when euery part of one sentēce is eguall, and of like weight one with another As thus. Is it knowen, tried, proued, euident, open, and assured that I did suche a deede? Another. Suche riote, Dicyng, Cardyng, pikyng, stealyng, fightyng, ruffines, queanes and harlottes, must nedes bryng hym to naught. Similia inter se.

¶ Gradacion.

GRadacion is when we reherse the worde that goeth nexte before, and bryng another woorde thereupon that encreaseth the matter, as though one should go vp a paire of staiers, and not leaue til he come at the toppe. Or thus. Gradacion is when a sentence is disseuered by degrees, so that the worde, whiche endeth the sentence goyng before, doeth begin the nexte. Labour getteth learnyng, learnyng getteth fame, fame getteth honour, honour getteth blesse for euer. Another. Of slouthe cometh pleasure, of pleasure cometh spendyng, of spēdyng cometh whorpng, of whorpng cometh lacke, of lacke cometh theste, of theste cometh hangyng, and there an ende for this world. Gradatio.

¶ Regrection.

Regressio. That is called regrection, when we repeate a worde eftsones, that hath been spoken, and rehersed before, whether the same bee in the beginnyng, in the middest, or in the latter ende of a sentence.

In the beginnyng, thus. Thou art ordeined to rule other, and not other to rule thee.

In the middest, thus. He that hath money, hath not geuen it, and he that hath geuen money, hath not his money still: but he that hath geuen thankes, hath thankes still, & he that hath them still, hath geuen them notwithstandyng.

In the latter ende, thus. Manne must not liue to eate, but eate to liue. Man is not made for the Sabboth, but the Sabboth is made for man. If man do any filthy thyng, and take pleasure therein: the pleasure goeth awaie, but the shame tarieth still. If manne do any good thyng with pain, the paines go awaie, but the honestie abideth still.

¶ Wordes loose.

Dissolutum Wordes louse are suche, which as are vttred without any addicion of coniunccions, suche as knitte woordes and sentences together. As thus. Obeye the Kyng, feare his lawes, kepe thy vocation, doo right, seke rest, like well a litle, vse allmenne, as thou woulddest thei should vse thee.

¶ Out cryng.

Exclamatio Out cryng is when with voyce we make an exclamacion. Oh Lorde, O God, O worlde, O life, O maners of menne: O death, where is thy styng: O hell where is thy victorie:

¶ Oft vsyng of one worde in diuerse places.

C. Can he haue any mannes harte in hym, or deserueth he the name of a man, that cruelly killeth a poore innocent man, who neuer thought hym harme.

¶ A cause geuen to a sentence vttered.

I. Feare not myne aduersarie, because I am not giltie. I mistrust not the Iudges, because thei are iuste, the quest will not cast me, the matter is so plain.

¶ A cause geuen to thynges contrary.

BEtter it were to rule, then to serue: For, he that ruleth, liueth: because he is free. But he that serueth, cannot be saied to liue. For where bondage is, there is no life properly.

¶ Sufferaunce.

TAke your pleasure for a tyme, and do what you list, a tyme will come when accompt shalbe made. Whē thynges cannot be, that we would haue, we should will that, whiche we can haue. Pacience is a remedy for euery disease. Permissio.

¶ A doubtyng.

SHall I call hym foole, or shall I call hym varlet, or bothe? Another. What made hym to commit suche a robberie? Lacke of money, or lacke of wit, or lacke of honestie? I doubte whether to call hym a foolishe knaue, or a knauishe foole. When muche matter was here in Englande, for callyng the Pope, supreme hedde of the Churche (q a Spanyarde, that whilome was of the Popes courte in Rome) you doubt muche here in England, whether the Pope be hedde of the churche or no, and greate variaunce there is emonges you, at the whiche folv of yours I doo muche maruaill, for we doubte muche at Rome, whether he be a member of the Churche at all, or no. Dubitatio. A Spaniardes douote.

☞ Reckenyng.

RReckenyng, is when many thynges are nombred together. There is no streat, no house, no man, no child, no shop, no lodgyng in all this toune, but he hath been in it. There is no stone, no Diamōd, no Saphire, no Rubie, no Christall, no Turcalle, no Emerode, but he knoweth theim perfectly. By this figure we may enlarge that, by reherſyng of the partes, whiche was spoken generally, & in fewe wordes. This maie be an example. Suche a gentle man beyng an vnthrifte, hath spent all that euer he had. Thus the sentence maie be amplified, if we shew particularly what he had, and tell seuerally how he spent it. Loke what enheritaunce came to him (whiche was no small thyng) by the death of his awn kinne, and his wifes kinsfolk: What dower soeuer he had by mariage of his wife, which by report was very greate thyng Whatsoeuer he got by executorship: whatsoeuer the kinges Dinumeratio. Sentence amplified by seuerall reherſyng of thynges.

Maiestie gaue hym. what bootes soeuer he gotte in warre fare, looke what money he had, what plate, what apparell, what houshoulde stuffe, what lande and Lordeshippes, what Sheepe, goodes, Parkes, and Medowes, yea, whatsoeuer he had, moueable, or vnmoueable, his houle, and all that euer he had: he hath so spent in fewe daies, so wasted it, & made suche hauocke of all together, emong the beastly compagnie of filthy queanes, emong abhominable harlottes, with banqueting from daie to daie, with sumpteous reare suppers, with drinkyng in the nighte, with daintees and delicates, and all suche swete delites, with Dicyng, Cardyng, and al maner of gamenyng: that he hath now left neither crosse nor crucifixe, no not a dodkin in all the worlde, to blesse hymself with al. Thus these wordes (he hath spent all his goodes in riot) are dilated, and sette furthe at large, by rehersyng seuerally euery thyng, one after another.

¶ Reasonyng a matter with our selfes.

Disputatio

When wee reason the matter with our selfes, when we aske questions of our selfes, and answere thereunto. As thus. Howe came this good felowe by all that he hath? Did his father leaue hym any lande? Not a foote. Did his frendes geue hym any thyng? Not a grote. Hath he serued in any vocacion, to heape vp so muche wealth? None hath liued more idlely. Doeth he not leane to some noble man? Yea, but he neuer receiued more then .iiij. marke wages. How then cometh he by all that euer he hath, liuyng without labour, hauyng no frendes to helpe hym, hauyng so litle to take vnto by all outwarde apparaunce, and spendyng so liberally, and owyng no man a grote in all the world? Assuredly, it cannot be otherwise, but that he cometh naughtily by moste of that, whiche he hath. Another. Seyng thou art so basely borne, so poore in state, so smally learned, so hard fauoured, and hast no witte at al, what meanest thou to vaunte thy self so muche, and to make suche bragges as thou doest. What doeth make thee to ware so proude? Thy stocke wherof thou diddest come? Why manne, thei are very base folke. Thyne awne wealth? tushe, thou art as poore as

Job.

Job. Thy learnyng? Marie thou hast ramst yet where any learnyng did growe. Thy beautie? Fie in good sothe, a worse fauoured manne can there not be vpon earth again. Thy witte? Now God he knoweth, it is as blounte as may bee. What other thyng then, is all this thy braggyng, but plain madnesse.

¶ Resemblyng of thynges.

Imago.

REsemblyng of thynges, is a comparyng or likenyng of looke, with looke, shape, with shape, and one thyng with another. As when I see one in a greate heate, and fiersely set vpon his enemie, I might saie, he lette flee at hym like a Dragon. Or thus. He lookes like a Tyger, a man would thinke he would eate one, his countenaunce is so ougle. He speakes not, but he barkes like a Dogge: he whettes his tethe like a Bore, he beates the grounde with his foote, like a greate Horsse: he is as raumpyng as a Lion. By this figure called in Latine Imago, that is to saie an Image, we mighte compare one manne with another, as Salust compareth Ceasar and Cato together, or we mighte heape many men together, and proue by large rehersall, any thyng that we would, the whiche of the Logicians is called induccion.

¶ Answeryng to our selfe.

Sibi ipsi responsio.

WE are saied to answere our selfe, when wee seme to tell our selfe, what we will do. Phedria in Terence beyng muche troubled and out of quiet, because he was not receiued of his woman, but shutte out of dores, when he was moste willyng to se her, made as though he would not come to her afterwardes, nor yet se her at all, when she did moste tently sende for hym. And therfore beyng in his anger, thus he saied: Well, what shall I doe? Shall I not go, not euen now when she sendes for me of her awne accorde? Or shall I be of suche a nature that I cannot abide the despitefulnesse of harlottes? She hath shutte me out, she calles me again. Shal I go to her? Naie I will not, though she entreate me neuer so faire.

¶ Order.

Ordo.

ORder is of twoo sortes, the one is, when the worthier is preferred, and set before. As a man is sette before a woman. The seconde is, when in amplification, the weightiest wordes are sette last, and in diminishyng, the same are sette formoste. With what looke, with what face, with what harte dare thou do suche a dede?

¶ Briefe describyng, or circumscripcion.

Circumscriptio.

CIrcumscripcion, is a briefe declaryng of a thyng. As thus. He is free, that is subiect to no euil. It is a vertue to eschewe vice.

There are diuerse other colours of Rhetorique, to commende and set furthe a sentence, by chaunge of wordes, and muche varietee of speache, but I had rather offende in speakyng to litle, then deserue rebuke in saiyng to muche. Forasmuche as close silence maie soner be pardoned, then immoderate babiyng can want iust blame, & therfore thus an ende.

¶ Of memorie.

AS I haue labored to set out thother partes of Rhetorique, in suche ample wise as I thought moste nedefull so it standeth me in hand, not to slacken myne endeuor, now that I am come to speake of memorie. For, though man haue vnderstandyng and iudgement, whiche is one parte of wisedome: yet wantyng a remembraunce to apply thynges aptly, when tyme and place shall best require: he shal do but small good with al his vnderstandyng. And therfore it is said not without reason, that the same is memorie to the mynde, that life is to the body. Now then what els must thei do that esteme reason, and loue knowlege, but cherishe the memorie from tyme to tyme, as an especiall and souereigne preseruatiue, against thinfection of cankard oblition. The faulkners saie, it is the first poynte of haukyng to hold faste. And yet I cannot thinke otherwise, but that in al good learnyng also, it is best & moste expedient, euermore to hold fast. For, what auaile good thynges, if we cannot kepe theim, if wee receiue theim in at one care, and let theim out as fast again at the other care? A good thriftie man will gather his goodes together, in tyme of plentie, and laie theim out again in tyme of

nede

nede: and shall not an Oratour haue in store good matter, in the cheste of his memorie, to vse and bestowe in tyme of necessitee? I doubte not, but all men desire to haue, a good remembrauuce of thynges, the whiche what it is, how it is diuided, and howe it maie bee preserued, I will shewe in as fewe woordes as I can.

¶ what is memorie.

MEmorie is the power retentiue of the mynde, to kepe those thinges, whiche by mannes wit are conceiued, or thus. Memorie is the power of the mind that conteineth thynges receiued, that calleth to mynde thynges past, & renueth of freshe, thynges forgotten. ¶ Memorie what it is.

¶ The place of memorie.

THe Phisicians declare, that in the former parte of the hed, lieth the common sense, the, whiche is therfore so called, because it geueth iudgement, of al the fiue outwarde senses, onely when thei are presently occupied aboute any thyng. As when I heare a thyng, or see a thyng, my common sense iudgeth, that then I doe heare, or se the same. But the memorie called the Threasure of the mynde, lieth in the hynder parte, the whiche is made moste perfect by temperatnesse, and moderacion of qualitees in the brain. For where humours excede or want, there must nedes ensue muche weakenesse of remembraunce. Children therefore beyng ouer moyst, and olde menne ouer drie, haue neuer good memories. Again, where ouer muche cold is, & extreme moysture, there is euer muche forgetfulnesse. Therfore it auaileth greatly, what bodies we haue, and of what constitucion thei bee compacte together. For suche as bee hotte and moyste, do sone conceiue matters, but thei kepe not long. Again, thei that bee colde and drie, doee hardely conceiue, but thei kepe it surely, when thei ones haue it. And the reason is this, heate beyng chiefe qualitee, dooeth drawe thynges vnto it (as we maie se by the Sonne) the whiche notwithstādyng are sone after dissipated & resolued. Again, who hath seen a print made in water of any yerthly thing? Then though heat and moysture together, drawe thynges vnto them, yet (we se plainly)

Children and old men haue but euill memories.

Hot and moyst bodies sone conceiue.

Colde and drie kepe thynges sure.

plainly) thei cannot long hold theim. But when the brain is cold and drie, thynges are therfore the faster holden, because it is the propertie of colde and drought, to thicken all thynges, and to harden theim faste together, as we see the water through coldenesse, is congeled, and softe thynges are frosen oftentymes, almoste as harde as a stone. So that moysture, through heate beyng chief qualitee, doth drawe: and drought through coldnesse, whiche is chief contrary to heate, dooeth harden and make thynges fast together. But now how dooe wee knowe, that the memorie resteth in the latter parte of the hedde? No doubte, experience hath proued, and confirmed this to be moste true. For, there hath been some, that beyng hurt in that place, haue vtterly forgot their awne name I do remember one man, that (beeyng hurte in that place, at the insurreccion of the Lincolne Shire men, xv. yeres past) could not deuise the makyng of some Letters, in his Crosse rowe, when he tooke penne and yuke, to write to his frende, whereas before that tyme, he wrote bothe faste and faire, and was learned in the Latine. And therefore when he wrote, he would stande musyng a greate while, before he could call to his remembraunce, howe he vsed to make a. B. a G. or suche another letter, whereupon diuerse muche marueiled what he would haue, or what he ment at the first tyme. For beyng greued, and willing to aske help, he could not vtter his meanyng, for lacke of remembraunce, and yet his tongue serued hym well otherwise, to vtter whatsoeuer came in his hedde.

Memorie in the latter part of the hedde.

¶ The diuision of memorie.

Memorie diuided.

MEmorie is partly naturall, and partly artificiall. Naturall memorie is, when without any preceptes or lessons, by the onely aptenesse of nature, we beare awaie suche thynges as wee heare. Wherein some heretofore, did muche excell, and greatly passe all other. As Themistocles, who had so good a memorie, that when one proffered to teache hym the arte of memorie, naye by saincte Marie (q he) teache me rather the arte of forgettyng. Declaryng thereby that his memorie was passyng good, and that it was more pain for hym, to forgette suche thynges, as he would not kepe, then hard to remember suche

Themistocles.

thynges

thinges as he would knowe.

Mithridates also hadde suche an excellente memorie, that whereas he was Lorde and ruler ouer. xxii. straunge countries that spake diuers speaches one from an other: he was able to talke wyth euerye one of theym in their owne countrey language. Mithridates

Likewyse Cyrus Kynge of the Persians, hauinge a greate armye of menne, knewe the names of all his Souldiours. Cyrus.

Cyneas Ambassadoure for kinge Pyrrhus, called euerye one by his name that was in the Parliamente house at Rome, the seconde daye after he came thither, the number of them beyng foure times as many as they be, that belonge vnto the Parliament here in Englande. Cyneas

Julius Cesar is reported that he coulde reade, heare, and tel one what he should write, so fast as his penne could runne, and endite letters hym selfe altogether at one time. Julius Cesar.

Thus we see that naturallye menne haue hadde wonderfull memories, as contrarywise there haue benc hearde of as straunge forgetfull wittes. Some hathe not knowen his right hande from his lefte. An other hath forgotte his owne name. An other hath caried his knyfe in his mouth, and hath runne rounde aboute the house seekinge for it. An other hath tolde a tale halfe an houre together, and immediatly after hath forgotte what he spake al that while. Forgetful wittes.

Cicero telleth of one Curio, that where as he woulde make a deuision of three partes, he woulde either foget the thirde, or make vp a fourthe, contrarye to his firste purpose and entente.

This I remember beinge a boye, that where as a preacher hadde taken vpon him to set forthe the. xii. Articles of our beliefe, he coulde not in all the worlde finde oute paste nine. So that he was fayne to saye, he was assured there was twelue, where soeuer the other thre were become, and he doubted not but the hearers knewe theim better then he did, and therfore he woulde for his parte saye no more, but commit them all to God, and those nine (thought he) were enoughe for him at that time, to set forthe and expounde for Belike thys man had the arte of forgettinge.

Preseruation of Memorie.

their vnderstandinge.

Nowe the beste meane bothe to mende an euil memory and to preserue a good, is firste to kepe a diet, and eschewe surfites, to slepe moderatelye, to accompanye with women rarelye, and laste of all to exercise the witte with cunnynge of manye thinges without Booke, and euer to be occupied with one thinge or other. For euen as by labour the witte is whetted, so by lithernes the witte is blunted.

But nowe concerning the other kinde of memorys called artificial, I had nede to make a long discourse, considering the straungenesse of the thinge to the English eare, and the hardnes of the matter, to the ignoraunte & vnlearned. But firste I will shew from whence it hath beginning, and vpon what occasion it was first inuented, before I aduenture to declare the preceptes that belonge vnto the same.

The firste founder of the arte of Remembraunce.

Simonides first authoure of the Arte of remembraūce.

THE inuention of this Arte is fatherde vpon Simonides, for when the same manne (as the fable recorderh) had made in behalfe of a triumphāt Champion called Scopas, for a certaine summe of money a Ballade, suche as was then wonte to be made for Conquerours: he was denied a piece of his rewarde, because he made a digression in his longe (whiche in those dayes was customablye vsed) to the praise and commendatiō of Castor and Pollux (who were then thoughte being Twinnes, and gotte by Iuppiter to be Goddes) of whom the Champion willed him to aske a portion, because he hadde so largelye set forthe their worthye doynges. Nowe it chaunced, that where as there was made a great feaste to the honour of the same Victorye, and Simonides had bene placed there as a geiste, he was sodainely called from the table, and told that there was two ponge men at the dore, & bothe on horsebacke whiche desired moste earnestlye to speake with him oute of hande. But when he came out of the dores, he sawe none at all, notwithstanding, he was not so sone out, and his fote on the threshold, but the Parlour fell downe immediatlye vpon them al that were there, and so crushed their bodies toge-

together, & in such sorte, that the kinsfolke of those whiche were deade, comming in, and desierous to burie them euery one according to their calling, not onely could they not perceiue them by their faces, but also they coulde not discerne them by any other marke of any parte in all their bodies. Then Simonides well remembringe in what place euerye one of theim did sitte, tolde theim what euery one was, and gaue them their kinsfolkes carkases, so many as were there Thus the arte was first inuented. And yet (thoughe this be but a fable) reason might beat thus much into our heades, that if the like thinge had bene done, the like remembraunce might haue ben vsed. For who is he that seeth a dosen sit at a table whom he knoweth verye well, can not tell, after they are all risen, where euery one of them did sitte before? And therefore be it that some man inuented this tale: the matter serueth well our purpose, and what nede we any more?

What thinges are requisite to get the Arte of Memorie.

They that wyll remember manye thynges and rehearse them together out of hande: muste learne to haue places, and digest Images in them accordingly

A Place what it is.

A place is called anye rowme apt to receiue thinges.

An Image what it is.

An Image is any picture or shape, to declare some certayne thing therby. And euē as in ware we make a print w̄ a seale so we haue places wher liuely pictures must be set. The places must be greate, of small distaunce, not one like an other, and euermore the fifte place must be made notable aboue the rest, hauinge alwayes some seuerall note from the other, as some antique, or a hande pointing, or suche like, that the rather hauinge a greate number of places, we might the better knowe where we are, by the remembraunce of suche notable and straunge places. And thus hauynge theim well appoynted, wee muste kepe theim freshe in oure memorye, and neuer chaunge them, but vse them styll, whatsoeuer we haue to saye. But the ymages we may chaunge as the matter shal geue iust cause, vsinge suche as shall serue beste for the knowledge of thinges.

Places howe they must be.

Images how they must be.

The whiche Images muste be sette forthe as thoughe they were stirring, yea they must be sometimes made raumping, and last of all, they muste be made of thinges notable, suche as maye cause earnest impression of thinges in our mind. As a notable euill fauoured man, or a monstruous horse, suche as sainte Georges horse was wonte to be, or any such like, helpe well for remembraunce.

i. The places of Memory are resembled vnto Ware and Paper.
ij. Images are counted lyke vnto letters or a Seale.
iij. The placing of these Images, is like vnto wordes written.
iiij. The vtteraunce and vsing of them, is like vnto readynge.

AND therfore as we do reserue paper, and yet chaūg our writynge, putting out wordes as occasion shal serue, and settinge other in their rowme: so may we do for the Images inuented, chaunge our pictures ofte, and reserue the papers still. Some gather their places and ymages oute of the crosse rowe, beginninge euerye letter with the name of some Beaste, and so go thorowe the whole, makyng in euerye beaste fyue seuerall places, where the impression of thinges shalbe made, that is to saye, in the Heade, the Brest, in the Taile, in the former parte of the legges, and also in the hinder part. So that by this meanes, there shall be gathered, an hundreth and fiftene places.

Some againe will set their places in his heade or bodye with whom they speake. As to make the nose, the eyes, the forheade, the heere, the eares, and other partes, to serue for places. And for makinge places in anye house, churche, or other rowme, this lesson is also geuen, that wee enter oure firste places alwaies vpon the right hande, neuer returning backe, but goynge on styll as I might saye in a circuite, til we come to that place where we firste beganne. But firste before the Images be inuented, the places muste be learned perfitely

perfitelye, and therfore one geueth coũsayle that we should go into some solitary place where no company is, and there make our places, walking vp and downe foure or fiue times and calling styll to our remembraunce what and where the places are. And not onely to do this once or twise, but to laboure in it two or three dayes at seuerall times, vntil we shal be able to tel our places vpon our fingers endes.

And nowe to make this harde matter somewhat plaine, I will vse an example. My freude (whom I take euer to be an honest manne) is accused of theste, of aduoutrie, of ryot, of manslaughter, and of treason, if I woulde kepe these wordes in my remembraunce, and rehearse them in order as they were spoken, I muste appoynte fiue places, the whiche I hadde neade to haue so perfectlye in my memorye, as coulde be possible. As for example, I will make these in my chamber. A doze, a windowe, a presse, a bedsteade, and a chimney. Now in ẏ doze, I wil set Cacus the theefe, or some suche notable verlet. In the windowe I will place Venus. In the presse I will put Apicius ẏ famous glutton. In the bedsteade I will set Richard the thirde kinge of England, or some like notable murtherer. In the chimney I wil place the blacke Smythe, or some other notable traytoure. That if one repete these places, and these Images twise or thrise together, no doubte, though he haue but a meane memorie, he shal carye awaye the wordes rehearsed with ease. And like as he maye do with these fiue woordes, so maye he do wyth fiue score, if he haue places freshe in hys remembrãce, and do but vse him selfe to this trade one fortenight together.

Therfore thoughe it seme straunge and folyshe to them that knowe it not, yet the learned haue taken this waye, & doubte not but maruayles maye be done, if one haue places readye made for the purpose, and haue them freshe in his remembraunce. For what other thinge els do they that appoynt ymages in certaine places made for that purpose, but write (as a manne woulde saye) vpon Paper, that which is spoken vnto them? What maketh the olde manne (that for lacke of naturall heate and moisture, scante knoweth hys

right hande from his lefte) remember in the morning where he layed his purse all nyght, but the beddes heade, whyche lyghtlye is the appoynted place for all meanes purses, especiallie such as be wayfairers, and haue but little store. Shall some gentilman playe blyndefolde at the chesse, and can not a learned man be able to rehearse vp a score or two of straunge names together? A Neteherde hauinge the charge and keppynge of .xviij. score heade of beastes in a wyld fenne, that belonge to diuers menne, will not onelye tell, who be the owners of al suche cattell, but also he will shewe a manne twise a weeke where anye one is feading, and if he waute one amonge the whole, he will tell immediatly what it is, and whose it is that is wantynge. Then fonde are they that counte the Arte of Memorye so harde, seynge they will neither proue the hardenes of it, nor get blowshe at the matter, when they see poore neteherdes go so farre beyonde them. Howe many thinges dothe Memorie contein marueylous to beholde, and muche more would, if we were not altogether slouthful, and as careleese to kepe, as we are to gette, good thinges I meane, not goodes of thys world. Euerye Artificer hath through exercise and labour, an artificiall memorye, sauynge the learned man onely, who hath most nede of it aboue all other.

When we come to a place where we haue not bene many a daye before, we remembre not onely the place it selfe, but by the place, we call to remembraunce manye thinges done there. Yea sometimes a windowe maketh some remember that they haue stollen in their daies some thing out of it. Sometimes a chimney telleth them of manye late drinkinges and sittinges vp by the fire. Sometimes a bedstead putteth the in remembrance of many good morowes, sometimes a doze, & sometimes a parler. Thus we se places euē wout images, helpe oft the memorye, muche more then shall we remembre, if we haue both places and Images.

But nowe because I haue halfe wearied the reader with a tedious matter, I will harten him agayne wyth a merye tale. At the time of rebellion in Northfolke, there was a priest emong al other adiudged to dye vpō a gibet in a greene

place,

place, a little from the hyghe waye side. This Priest seinge the place of his laste ende, stode a whyle musinge wyth him selfe, and saide to the companye there. Now Lord God what a thinge is this. It comes to my remembraunce nowe that aboute fourtene yeres paste, I was morye here vpon thys Bancke wyth an other Priest, and wallowynge me downe vpon the grasse, I said these wordes: Hæc requies mea in seculū seculi, hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam. The whiche Sentence beynge a Psalme of Dauid, is no thinge els in Englishe, But this is my restynge place for euer and euer, here shall be my dwellynge, because I haue chosen it. And nowe (quod he) I finde it to be ouer true, so that I thinke it be Goddes wyl I should dye, and therfore I take it in good worthe, and thus I desire you al to praye for me. Thus we see that the place brought hym in remembraunce of a sentence spoken xiiij. yeres before.

God graunt al rebels lyke remembraunces.

Therfore this knoweledge is not to be neglected, no thoughe we do contemne it, yet we haue the vse of it. For if we be fully disposed to remēber a thing, we do call vp the memorye, and stirre it to mynde thynges lyke thereunto. As if one be called Wingefeld, and I feare to forget this name I might remembre the winge of a byrde, and a grene feld to walke in. Sometymes we remēber the whole, by keppyng in mynde some parte of a word. As when one is called Crowcroft, I myght by remembring of a Crowe, the rather mind his name.

Remembraūce by thinges like

Notwithstāding ther be some (emōg whō is Erasmus) which like not this arte of Memorie, but saye it rather hindereth, then helpeth a mans wit. And yet Tullie the greatest Oratour emong the Romaynes, did wel alowe it, and proued it good by a naturall reason. For where as we knowe some thinges (sayeth he) onelye by vnderstandynge, and some by the sence of seynge, those we kepe best in our mindes whiche we knowe by sight, & haue marked with our eyes. As for example. When I se a Lyon, ỹ ymage therof abideth faster in my mind, thē if I should heare some report made of a Lyon. Emong all the senses, the eye sight is most quicke, & cōteineth the impressiō of thinges more assuredly, thē any of the other senses do.

And

And the rather when a manne bothe heareth and seeth a thinge (as by artificiall memorye he dothe almoste se thinges liuelye) he do:he remember it muche the better. The sight printeth thinges in a mannes memorye, as a seale doth prynte a mannes name in ware. And therfore heretofore Images were sette vp for remembraunce of Sainctes, to be laye mennes bokes, that the rather by seinge the Pictures of suche menne, they might be stirred to folowe their good liuynge. The whiche surely hadde bene well done, if God had not forbidden it. But seinge thinges muste be done not of a good entente, but euen as God hath commaunded, it is well doone that suche Idolles are cleane taken oute of the churche. Marye for this purpose wherof we nowe write, they woulde haue serued gaply well. Thus the arte is sone tolde, but the practise of it is all. And therfore if one desire to excell herein, let him take paynes to gather his places together, and kepe them well in remembraunce, prouinge by halfe a score, how he shall be able to vse a hundreth. And no doubte, but time and exercise shall make him perfecte.

For the beste arte of memorye that can be, is to heare muche, to speake muche, to reade muche, and to write much. And exercise it is that dothe all, when we haue saide al that euer we can.

Of Pronunciation.

vtterayncs is is.

Pronunciation is an apte ordering bothe of the voyce, countenaunce, and all the whole bodye, accordynge to the worthines of suche woordes and mater as by speache are declared. The vse hereof is suche for anye one that liketh to haue prayse for tellynge his tale in open assemblie, that hauing a good tongue, and a comelye countenaunce, he shalbe thought to passe all other that haue the like vtterauuce: thoughe they haue much better learning. The tongue geueth a certayne grace to euerye matter, and beautifieth the cause in like maner, as a swete soundynge Lute muche setteth forthe a meane deuised Ballade. Or as the sounde of a good instrumente styreth

reth the hearers, and moueth muche delite, so a cleare sounding voice comforteth muche our deintie eares, with muche swete melodie, and causeth vs to allowe the matter rather for the reporters sake, thē the reporter, for the matters sake. Demosthenes therfore, that famouse Oratour beyng asked what was the chiefest point in al Oratorie, gaue the chiefe and onely praise to Pronunciation, being demaunded, what was the seconde, and the thirde, he stil made answere, Pronunciation, and would make none other aunswere, till they lefte asking, declaryng hereby that Arte without vtteraūce can dooe nothyng, vtteraunce without Arte can dooe right muche. And no doubte that man is in outwarde apparaunce halfe a good Clarke, that hath a cleane tongue, and a comely gesture of his bodie. Aeschines lykewyse beyng bānished his countrie through Demosthenes, when he had redde to the Rhodians his owne Oration, and Demosthenes aunswere thereunto, by force wherof he was banished, and all they marueiled muche at the excellencie of the same: then (q Aeschines) you would haue marueiled muche more if you had heard hymselfe speake it. Thus beyng cast in miserie & bannished for euer, he could not but geue suche great reporte of his most deadly and mortal ennemy.

Demosthenes saiyng of pronunciation.

Aeschines.

¶ The partes of Pronunciation.

PRonunciation standeth partely in fashionyng the tongue, and partely in frampng the gesture.

The tongue, or voice is praise worthie, if the vtteraunce be audible, strong, and easie, & apte to order as we liste. Therfore they that mynde to gette praise in tellyng their minde in open audience must at the first beginnyng speake somwhat softely, vse meete paulyng, and being somewhat heated, rise with their voice, as the tyme & cause shal best require. Thei that haue no good voices by nature, or cannot wel vtter their woordes, must seeke for helpe elswhere. Exercise of the bodie, fastyng, moderacion in meate, and drynke, gaping wyde, or singyng plaine song, & counterfeityng those that do speake distinctly, helpe muche to haue a good deliueraunce. Demosthenes beeyng not able to pro-

pronounce the firſt letter of that Arte whiche he profeſſed, but would ſay, for, Rhethorique, Letolike, vſed to put litle ſtones vnder his tongue, & ſo pronounced, whereby he ſpake at lengthe ſo plainely as any man in the worlde coulde doe. Muſicians in England haue vſed to put gagges in childrẽs mouthes that they might pronounce diſtinctely, but nowe with the loſſe and lacke of Muſicke, the loue alſo is gone of bringyng vp children to ſpeake plainely. Some therebe that either naturally, or through folie haue ſuche euill voices & ſuche lacke of vtteraunce, & ſuche euil geſture, that it muche defaceth all their doynges. One pipes out his woordes ſo ſmall through defaulte of his wynde ppe, that ye woulde thinke he whiſtcled. An other is ſo hource in his throte, that a man woulde thynke he came lately from ſcouryng of harneſſe. An other ſpeakes, as though he had Plummes in his mouthe. An other ſpeakes in his throte, as though a good Ale crũne ſtacke faſt. An other ratles his woordes. An other choppes his woordes. An other ſpeakes, as though his woordes had neede to be heaued out with leauers. An other ſpeakes as though his woordes ſhoulde be weyed in a ballaunce. An other gapes to fetche wynde at euery thirde woorde. This man barkes out his Engliſhe Northrenlike with I ſay, and thou ladde. An other ſpeakes ſo finely, as though he were brought vp in a Ladies Chamber. As I knewe a Prieſt that was as nice as a Nonnes Henne, when he would ſaie Maſſe, he woulde neuer ſaie Dominus vobiſcum, but Dominus vobicum. In like maner as ſome now wil ſay, the Commendementes of God, blacke vellet, for Commaundementes and blacke veluet. Some blowes at their noiſtrelles. Some ſighes out their woordes. Some ſynges their ſentencies. Some laughes altogether, when they ſpeake to any bodie. Some gruntes lyke a Hogge. Some cackels lyke a Henne, or a Jack Dawe. Some ſpeakes as thoughe they ſhoulde tel a tale in their ſleeue. Some cries out ſo loude, that they would make a mans eares ake to heare thẽ. Some coughes at euery woorde. Some hẽmes it out. Some ſpittes fier, they talke ſo hotely. Some makes a wrie mouthe, and ſo they wreſte out their woordes. Some whynes lyke a Pig.

Faultes in pronunciation

Some

Some suppes their wordes vp as a poore man doth his porage. Some noddes their head at euery sentence. An other winckes with one ye, and some with both. This mã frowneth alwaies when he speakes. An other lookes euer as though he were mad. Some cannot speake, but thei muste go vp and doune, or at the leste be stirryng their feete as though they stode in a cockeryng Bote. An other wil plaie with his cappe in his hande, & so tel his tale. Some when they speake in a great companie, will looke al one way, as I knewe a reader in my daies, who loked in lyke sorte when he redde to Scholers, whome one thought to disappoint of suche his constant lookes: and therefore against the nexte daie he painted the Deuil with hornes vpon his heade in the selfe same place where the Reader was wont alwaies to looke, the whiche straunge monster when the reader sawe, he was half abashed, and turned his face an other way. Some pores vpon the grounde, as though thei sought for pynnes. Tullie telles of one Theophrastus Mauriscus, who is saide to declaime arsee verse. Some swelles in the face & filles their chekes ful of wynde, as though they would blow out their woordes. Some settes forth their lippes two ynches good beyonde their teeth. Some talkes as thoughe their tongue went of patyns. Some showes al their teeth. Some speakes in their teeth altogether. Some leates their wordes fall in their lippes, scant openyng theim when they speake. There are a thousand suche faultes emong menne bothe for their speache, and also for their gesture, the whiche if in their young yeres they be not remedied, they will hartely be forgotte when they come to mans state. But the rather that these faultes may be redressed: I haue partly declared heretofore the righte vse of vtteraunce, and nowe I mynde by Goddes helpe to shewe the right vse of gesture.

What is gesture.

Gesture what it is.

Gesture is a certaine comely moderacion of the countenaunce, and al other partes of mans body, aptely agreeyng to those thynges whiche are spoken. That if wee shall speake in a pleasaunt matter, it is meete that the loke also should be chereful, and al the gesture stir-

ryng thereafter. The heade to be holden vpright, the fore-head without frownyng, the browes without bendyng, the nose without blowyng, the yes quicke and pleasaunt, the lippes not laid out, the tethe without grennyng, the armes not muche cast abrode, but comely set out, as time, and cause shal best require: the handes sometymes opened, and sometimes holde together, the fingers pointyng, the brest laid out, and the whole body stirryng altogether with a seemely moderacion. By the whiche behauiour of our body after suche a sorte, we shal not onely delite men with the sight, but perswade them the rather the truth of our cause.

Hortensius. M. Hortensius had suche delite to vse comely gesture, & had suche grace in that behaulfe: that I doubt whether men had a greater desire to see hym, than they had to heare hym. His countenaunce so wel agreed with his wordes, and his woordes were so meete for his contenaunce, that not onely he did please the iudgement of his hearers, and contented their mynde: but also he pleased their yes, and delited their eares, so muche as could be wished.

Tullie saith well: The gesture of man, is the speache of his bodie, and therfore reason it is, that lyke as the speache must agree to the matter, so must also the gesture agree to the mynde. For, the yes are not geuen to man onely to se, but also to shewe, and set forth the meanyng of his mynde, euen as vnto a Bore are geuen brisselles: to a Lyon, the taile: to a horse, his eares: whereby their inclinacions and soubdeine affections are sone espied. When we see a man loke redde in the yes, his browes bent, his teeth bytyng his vpper lip, we iudge that he is out of pacience. Therefore as we ought to haue good regarde for the vtteraunce of our wordes, so we ought to take hede that our gesture be comely, the whiche bothe beyng wel obserued, shal encrease fame and gette estimacion vniuersally.

But heare an end. And now as my wil hath beeu earneſt to doe my beſte: ſo I wiſhe that my paines may bee taken thereafter. And yet what needes wiſhyng, ſeeyng the good will not ſpeake euill, aud the wicked can not ſpeake well. Therfore beyng ſtaied vpon the good, and aſſured of their ientle bearyng with me: I feare none, becauſe I ſtande vpon a ſaufe grounde.

Faultes escaped in thenprintyng.

Folio.viii.line.xxxii.i.reade, vaunte.
Fol.xxviii.lyne.i.Reade, or doe we.
Fol.lxxvi.line.vii.i.respecte.
Fol.lxxvi.line.viii.iester.
Fol.lxxxi.line.vii.seme.
Fol.lxxxvi.line.xv.ii.Rhetorician.

¶ A Table to fynde out suche matter as is conteined in this Booke, first by the Leafe, and nexte by the Page, or syde of the Leafe.

A.

ABatyng, or lessenyng of a thyng. xcvi.i.
Abraham. xxvij.i.
Abraham howe he is said to be the father of many Nacions. xcvij.ij.
Abusion what it is. xciij.i.
Aduersaries reasons when they should best be confuted. v.i.
Aegyptians what order they vsed to banniſhe idelneſſe. xv.ij.
Aeschines. c.xix.i.
Affections must be moued. ij.ij.
Affections howe they woulde bee moued. lxxi.ij.
Affections must first bee stirred in hym, that seeketh to stirre other. lxxiij.ij.
Affectation in speakyng Englishe fonde and straunge. lxxxvi.i.ij.
Allegorie what it is. xciij.ij.
Alceſtes wyfe. xxxi.ii.
Alteryng parte of a worde, howe, & what it is. cv.i.i.
Ambiguitie. liii.i.
Amplification. lxiiii.i.
Amplification what it is, and how it is deuided. lxvi.ii.
Amplification by comparyng of thynges, and encreasyng of the least. lxviii.i.
Amplification by examples. lxviii.i
Amplification by cõtraries. xcix.i.
Amplificatiõ by lessenyng of great faultes to make other seme greater. xcix.i.
Amplification by praisyng the vnworthie the rather that an other may haue more praise. lxx.i.
Amplification by cõiectures. lxx.ij.
Amplification by thynges encreased, and diminished. lxxi.i.
Anaragoras pacience. xl.iii.ii.
Anticipacion what it is. C.i.
Aptenesse what it is. lxxxvii.i. lxxxix.i.ij.
Argumentes when they shoulde chiefely be vsed. v.i.
Augmentes howe they shoulde be digested. lxxxiiii.
Art surer guidy than nature. iii.ij
Art to what stede it serueth. lxxxv.i
Arthemisia. xxxi.ii.
Assured truthe what it is. xviii.ii.
Askyng other, & aunswerynge our selfe. xcvii.ii. xcviii.i.
Attemptes worthie. vii.ii.
Athenians forbad Prefaces, and Conclusions. lxiiii.i.
Argumentyng, or diminishyng, to moue laughter. lxxviii.ii.
Augustus fauourable to maried folke that had children. xxiiii.ii.
Augustus abashed at a boies aunswere. lxxxii.i.
Augustine. cviii.ii.

B.

BAckebytyng sette forthe by Amplification. lxiiii.ii.

Barbarouſe Clarkes no better than ſlouens. lxxxvi.i.
A Beldames blid anſwer. lxxvij.ij
Begynnyng of an Oration what it is. lv.i.
Better borne a begger, than dye a begger. lxxxij.ij.
Better not to hurt a good matter by euil ſpeache, than to further it by good talke. v.ij.
Bibulus pacience for loſſe of his children. xlv.i.
Blamig other, how it is ſaid lvij.i
Brute beaſtes nature for mourning. xlij.i.
Buttreſſe what it is. xcix.ij

C.

CAtoes ſaiyng to him that ſtroke him, & bad him beware. lxxxi.i.
Chalengyng, or refuſing, whē thei are vſed. liij.ij.
Chaūge of name what it is. xciij.ij
Chaunging parte of a letter, word or ſillable. lxxvij.i.
Churliſhe aunſweres delite ſometimes. lxxxi.
Circumſtauncies in praiſing. x.i.
Circumſtauncies neceſſarie to bee noted in al cauſes. v.i.
Circūſtauncies in obſeruyng profite. xx.ij.
Circumlocution. xciij.ii.
Cloſe vnderſtandyng what it is. xcvi.i
Commons what it is. xix.i.
Cōpoſiciō out of courſe. lxxxix.i.ii
Commendyng. xxxvi.i.
Comforting the afflicted. xxxvi.i.
Cōmodus the Emperour. xliii.ii.
Comparyng a fault doen, howe it is vſed. lvii.ii.
Compoſicion. lxxxviii.i.
Comprehenſion what it is. cxii.ii.
Concluſion what it is. iiii.ii. xcvii. ii. lxiii.i.
Confeſſyng what it is. lvii.
Cōfirmaciō what it is. iiii.ii. lxi.ii
Confirmacion to proue matters, out of Logique. lxii.i.
Confirmacion gatherd of the perſon. lxii.i.
Confutatiō what it is. iiii.i. lxii.ii.
Coniectures. viii.
Coloures of Rhetorique what they are. xciiii.
Coloures of Rhetorique lykened to the ye ſight. lxxxix.ii.
Coniectural State, or iſſue. xlix.i.
Conuerſion what it is. c.vii.
Cōſtante truth what it is. xviii.ii.
Contrarie lawes. lii.i.
Continuaunce what it is. xix.ii.
Contrarietie. cvi.ii.
Cornelia. xxxi.ii. xliiii.ii.
Correction. lxvii. xcix.i.
Counſel & good aduiſe geuē. vii.ii.
Craynes, what ſtraung order they vſe. cii.
Curio, paſſyng in forgetfulneſſe. cxvii.i.
Cyneas memorie, notable. cxiii.i.
Cyrus memorie how great it was cxiii.i.

D.

DAnae that faire Damoſel, how ſhe was deceiued. cxiii.ii.
Dauid

Dauid commẽded for killyng Goliah. x.ij.
Dauid bewailyng the sickenesse of his sonne. xliiij.i.
Death common to all. xxxix.ij.
Death purchaceth rest. xlj.j.
Definicion alwaies nedefull to bee knowen. xlviij.ij.
Definicion how it should bee vsed in causes criminall. liij.j.
Deformitee of body moueth mirth lxxviij.ij.
Delityng nedefull. ij.ij.
Demosthenes tale of the Asses shadowe. lv.j.
Demosthenes saiyng of pronunciacion. C.xix.i.
Demonides saiyng, when he had lost his shooen. lxxxj.ij.
Descripciõ of a mãs nature.xcix.ij
Descripcion of person. xcv.ij.
Descripcion of an euill and wicked offense. lxxij.
Difference betwixte a common iester, & a pleasaunt wisemã.lxxvj.
Difference betwixt a iest in a word and a long tale. lxxviij.
Digestion what it is. Cvj.j.
Digression or swerupng. xcvj.ij.
Diminucion. lxvij.
Diogenes beeyng called verlette, what he saied. lxxxij.ij.
Diogenes whishte or warnyng geuen. Cvj.ij.
Diogenes. lxxvj.ij.lxxx.j.
Dispolicion and apte orderyng of thynges. lxxxiij.j.
Dispolicion what it is. lxxxiiij.i.
Dissẽblyng or couert iestig.xcviij.j
Dissemblyng pleasauntly. lxxxj.ij.
Distribucion. xcviij.ij.
Diuision of example. Cij.j.
Diuision of figures. xc.
Diuision of Tropes. xcj.ij.
Diuisiõ of figures in a word.xciiij.
Diuision of states or issues in causes of iudgement. xlviij.ij.
Diuision of causes iuridic. liij.ij.
Diuision of howe many partes it must be made. lx.
Diuision of proposicions. lxi.ij.
Dogge of a Romaines, how thankfull he was. Cij.ij.
Doues. C.ij.
Doubtfulnesse. xcviij.ij.
Doublettes what thei are. cvij.j.
Dragõ how thankful he was.cij.ij.
Duke of Suffolke and lorde Charles his brother. viij.i.xxvij.ij.

E.

EAsinesse of trauaile. xvi.ij.
Ducacion of a noble. vij.ij.
Guall members what thei are. Cix.j.
Eloquẽce by what meanes it maie be atteigned. ij.ij.
Elocucion what it is. iiij.j.
Elocucion an apte chosyng of wordes and sentences. lxxxv.ij.
Eloquẽt men most estemed.lviij.ij.
Enteraunce what it is. iiij.i.
Enteraunce into any matter, twoo waies diuided. lv.j.
Enteraunce apte. lviij.j.
Entrance apt for preachers.lviij.ij

Ending like, and fallyng like what thei are. cviii.i.
Errour what it is. c.i.
Essens haters of mariage. xxxiii.i.
Euill to liue emong the euill. xl.i.
Euident settyng furthe of a matter. xcv.i.
Example what it is. c.ii.
Example, howe it maie be enlarged by Topie. ciii.ii.
Example of commendyng a noble personage. viii.i.
Example of cõmendyng kyng Dauid, for killyng Goliah. x.ii.
Example in commendyng of Iustice. xiii.ii.
Exhortacion. xxxiii.ii.
Exornacion what it is. xc.i.

F.

FAbia Dolobella wittely mocked of Tulli. lxxxiii.i.
Fables moste nedefull some tymes to be told. cv.ii.
Fame folowyth worthy feats. xxxv
Familiar and pleasaunt aduise geuen. lxxxv.i.
Familiar talke vsed. xcix.ii.
Fallyng fet furth by diuision. lxi.i.
Fauoure winnyng, and affeccions mouyng, when thei are moste necessarie. v.i.
Faultes in composicion. lxxxviii.ii.
Frenesie of speache. cvi.ii.
Frier howe he was asked, when he preached of mannes soule. lxxviii.ii
Figure of Rhetorique what it is and diuision of the same. xci.ii.
Figure of a worde what it is. xciii.
Figures to what vse thei are. xcv.ii
Figures in sentences called Schemes. cvii.i.
Fiue thynges to bee considered in an Orator. iii.ii.
Foly in many ỹ go to the law. xx.ii
Folie of them that lament the departure of their frendes. xxxix.ii
Foly, and lacke of witte, geue occasion of pacyme. lxxxi.i.
Fortitude what it is. xix.i.
Foure thynges obserued for choyse of wordes. lxxxviii.i.

G.

GEsture what it is. cxviii.i.
Gauntes fightyng againste nature what thei sig. xxvi.i
God hede to be take at the firste, in handelyng a matter in iudgement. v.i.
Good to be bolde in moste daunger if otherwise we cãnot escape. v.ii
Good will, makes greate burdeynes light. xvii.i.
Goodes lent, muste bee restored at the owners will. xii.ii.
Gorgias. lxxx.i.
Gradacion what it is. cix.i.
Grauntyng to other, that thei will not graũt to vs. lxxvii.ii.
Grecians reuengement for aduoutrie. xxv.i.

H.

HEarers how thei should bee made attentiue. iv.i.
Hearers good will howe it should be gotte. iv.i.
Hebrues law for maried. xxiiii.i.

Hebrues

Hebrues stoned aduoutrers .xxv.i.
Hebrues curse. xxix.
Hercules labours what thei signi-
fie. cv.i.
Hieromes praise vpõ virg.xxviii.ij
Hipsicratea. xxxi.ii.
Heliogabalus. lxxx.i.
Hollanders wittie deuise.lxxvii.ii.
Honestie comprehendeth all Ver-
tues. xvi.ii.
Honest names geuen to an euill
thyng. lxxix.ii.
Honorablenes what it is. xix.i.
Hope of rewarde maketh men take
paines. xix.ii.
Horace Puluillus pacience for the
losse of his childe. xlv.ii.

I.

Acob. xxvii.i.
Carus. ciiii.ii.
Elousie vnknowē to wise
menne. xxxi.ii.
Ientleneſſe what it is. xix.ii.
Iestyng when it should bee spa-
red. lxxv.ii.
Images how thei muste be vsed for
remembraunce. cxi ii.ii.
Imitacion or folowyng the wise,
nedefull. xxx.ii.
Impaciẽce without comfort.xliii.i.
Inclinacion of nature. vii.ii.
Insinuacion what it is. lv.i.
Intellection what it is. xcii.i.
Interpretacion of a Lawe, called
the state legalle, what it is. lv.i.
Interpretacion of a worde.lxxvii.i.
Inuencion what it is. iii.ii.
Iobs pacience in aduersitee.xliiii.i.
Iudgement geuen what it is. xix.i.
Iris. ciiii.ii.
Iulia. xxxi.ii.
Iustice commeuded. xiii.ii.
Iustice what it is, and how large-
ly it extendeth xiii.i.
Iustice naturall in euery one of vs
xiii.ii.
Iustice necessarie for all men. xiii.
and ii.
Iustice easie to be obserued, if will
bee not wantyng. xv.ii.
Iustice what it is. xvii.ii.
Iulius Cesar. xlv.i.
Iulius Ceasar of what greate re-
membraunce he was. cxiii.ii.
Iuridiciall state or issue. xlix.i.

L.

Laughter mouyng.lxxiiii.i.
and howe many thynges
are to bee considered in
that behalfe.
Lawes of Englande. xvii.i.
Lawes profitable for the purse.
xx.ii.
Lawes maintein life. xxi.ii.
Lawfull emong the Hebrues, for
the maried to kill the aduoute-
rer. xxv.i.
Lawes contrary, haue foure lessõs
to be obserued. xxv.ii.
Lawyers neuer dye beggers. xx.ii.
Lawyers readie to espie doubtes.
liii.

Letter of coumfort to the Duches grace of Suffolke. xxxvi.ii.
Legall state, or issue. xlix.i.
Lia beeyng barrein, thought to bee out of Goddes fauour. xxiiii.i.
Liberalitee, commended with heapes of sentences. lxv.ii.
Lycurgus Lawe against vnmaried folke. xxv.i.
Lyng, pretely mocked. lxxxii.ii.
Life, the right waie to death. xl. ii.
Likenesse of thynges emong theim selfes. Cix.i.
Lion, how thankfull he was. Ciii.
Logique must bee learned for confirmacion of causes. xiii.i.
Lowlines, set out by ampl. lxiiii.ii.

M.

MAn, what he is cõcernyng the body. xlv.ii.
Manhode, what it is. xix.i.
Mariage firste ordeined by God. xxii.ii.
Mariage beautified by mir. xxiii.i.
Mariage naturall. xxv.ii.
Mariage emõg trees, and precious stones. xxv.ii.
Mariage betwene the firmament, and the yearth. xxvi.i.
Mariage generally estemed. xxvi.ii.
Matter whereupon an Oratoure muste speake. i.i.
Matters in generall, stande in. iiii. poynctes. iiii.ii
Matters honest. }
Matters filthy. } iiij.ii
Matters doubtfull. }
Matters trifelyng. }
Matters harde to auoyde, should bee past ouer as though we sawe theim not. v.i.
Memorie, how it is preser. cxiii.ii.
Memorie, what it is cxii.i
Memorie, what it is. iiii.i.
Menenius Agrippa pacified a rebellion by a fable. cv.ii.
Metall trier, kyndely mocked, for his glorious vauntyng. xcviii.ii.
Miserie of this worlde, makes wearinesse of life. xlii.ii.
Midas. Ciiii.ii.
Mirthe makyng, good at the beginnyng. lviii.i.
Mirth, how many waies it is moued. lxxv.i.
Mirth, moued by openyng a weighty matter, and not fully knowen. lxxix.i.
Mithridates worthy memo. cxlii.i.
Modestie, what it is. xix.ii.
Mouyng of pitee. lxxiii.ii.
Moũtyng aboue the truth. xcvii.ii.

N.

NArracion, what it is. iiii.i.
Narracion, what it is, and how it is diuided. lviii.ii
Narracion, in iudge. lix.i.
Narracion, in praisyng, and counsaill geuyng. lix.ii.
Nature, what it is xviii.i.
Naturall loue, what it is. xviii.i.
Natures worke allowed by Goddes worde. xxiii.i.
Nalica his pretie answer to Ennius, when he asked for hym at his house. lxxx.ii.

Necessarie, two waies take. xvii.i.
Necessitee enforceth mari. xxxii.ii.
Nero the Emperour. xliii.ii.
Noble personages, how thei shuld be praised. vi.ii.

O.

Odious scurrilitee. ii.ii.
Old tales rehersed, to make sporte. lxxviii.i.
Olimius, pleasantly mocked by one Egilius. lxxx.ii.
Order, of what sort. lxxxiii.ii. cxi.i.
Order breakyng. lxxxviii.ii.
Orpheus the Musician, how cunnyng he was in his callyng, and what is ment by his wonderous doynges. xxvi.i.
Orations in generall consist upon seuen partes. iiii.i.
Orationes, or causes of. iii. kind. vi.i.
Oration demonstratiue. vi.ii.
Oratio demonstratiue of a dede. x.i.
Oration deliberatiue. xvi.i.
Oratio iudiciall what it is. xlvii.i.
Oratio coniectural what it is. xlix.ij
Oration coniecturall upon a murther committed. l.ii.
Oration of righte, or wrong, what it is. liii.ii.
Oration of righte or wrong upon manslaughter. lvii.i.
Orators bounde to performe three thynges. i.ii.
Orators muste vse delitfull wordes and saiynges. ii.i.
Orators must haue fiue thynges to make them perfecte. iii.ii.
Orators of necessitee, must haue three especiall thynges. iv.ii.
Orator that thought he had moued pitee, mocked. lxxxi.ii.

P.

Patience praise worthye in aduersitee. xlvi.ii.
Partes of prudence. xvii.ii.
Passions. xxxvii.i.
Paulus Emilius moste godly desire. xlv.i.
Passage to an other matter, what it is. xcvii.i.
Paulanias pleasaunte saiyng to a Phisician. lxxxii.i.
Persians had many wifes. xxvii.i.
Pericles patience. xliiii.i.
Persones pleasaunt answer, carryng his woman behynd. lxxvii.i.
Phauorinus wittie saiyng to a young manne. ii.i.
Phisician mocked. lxxxii.i.
Philosophie diuided. lxi.i.
Pitee mouyng. xxxv.ii.
Places of Logique, moste nedefull to be knowen. lxii.ii.
Places to encreace & set furthe the euill of a wicked deede. lxxii.ii.
Places of memorie, how thei must be vsed. cxiiii.ii.
Places of praisyng. vii.i.
Places of exhortacion. xxxiiii.ii.
Places to confirme thynges, gathered by coniecture. l.i.
Places of confirmacio in matters of right and wrong. liii.ii.
Place of confirmacio, whe a fault is graunted. lvii.i.
Plain tellyng of the matter, moste

nedefull for an Orator. lv.ii.
Plainelle how it might be v. lix.i.
Plainelle what it is. lxxvi.i.
Plain words proper vnto an or..ii
Platoes saiyng to Antisthe. lxxv.ii
Pleasauntnelle in saiyng. lxxvi.i.
Pleasures largely sette out. xvi.ii.
Pleasaunt sportyng twoo wayes vsed. lxxv.ij.
Pleasaunt answeres contrary to our lokyng, delite muche. lxxvi.
Plinius counsaill for handelyng of causes. xlviii.i.
Plutarch for encreasle of ill. xxiiii.i
Poeticall narracions profita. ciiii.j
Põtidius how he was dece. lxvi.ij.
Poetes vnder colour shewe muche wisedome. ciiii.ii.
Porcia. xxxi.ii.
Prailyng, and therwithal dispraisyng one and thesame mã. lxxii.i.
preachers what order they vse. lix.ij
Preachers. lxxv.i.
Preachers not so diligently heard as common Plaiers. ii.ii.
Preachers must sometimes be merry when thei speake to ꝑpco. ii.ii.
Prailyng a deede. xxxiiii.ij.
Practise maketh all thynges perfecte. iij.j.
Praises parted threfolde, in commendyng a man. vi.ij.
Priestes mariage. xxviii.i.
Preuencion what it is. c.j.
Probable how it might be vl. lix.i.
Profite of Justice. xvij.
Profite, how largely it exten. xvj.ij
Profite beareth the name of goodnesse whiche is threfolde. xvi.ii.
Progression what it is cviii.j.
Pronunciation, what it is. cxvi.ii. and iiii.i.
Propolicion what it is. iiii.ij. and xcvii.i.
Propolicions, what thei are. lxi.i.
Prouerbes alleged, helpe amplificacion. lxvi.i.
Prudence, what it is. xvij.ii.

Q

Questiõs to be spoke
Questiõs of.i. sortes
Questions infinite.
Questions definite.
} i.j.

Questions definite belong properly to an Orator. i.ii.
Questions infinite proper to Logicians. i.ii.
Quintus Martius suffraũce. xlv.j

R.

Raisonyng a matter, what it is. cx.ii.
Raiccio, what it is. xcix.ii.
Raligion, what it is. xviii.i.
Repeatyng of thynges saied before. xcvii.i.
Repeticion, what it is. cvii.ii.
Restyng vpon a poynte, what it is. xciiii.ii.
Returnyng to the purpose, what it is' xcvii.i.
Reuengement forbidden, and sette out by amplificacion. lxv.i.
Right by custome, what it is. xviii. and ii.
Right by lawe, what it is. xix'i.
Ripe thynges last not long. xlvi.i.

Rimed

Rimed sentences vsed without reason. cviii.ii.
Rimes made to mocke the symple. there.
Rhetorique, what it is. i.j.
Rhetorique, occupied aboute all lawes. there.
Rhetorique, what ende it hath. i.ii.
Rhetorique, first made by wisemen and not wisemenne made first by it. iii.i.
Rhetorique, for what purpose it is set furthe. iii.i.
Rhetorique, to what purpose it serueth. there.
Rhetorique, what it teacheth for orderyng of thynges. lxxxiiii.i.
Rounaine Lawes for Churche diguitees. xx.i.
Ropertye chidyng lxxxvii.ij.
Rouyng without reason. xlvii.ii.

S.

Saguntines how faithfull thei were. lvi.ii.
Saincte Christopher what he signified. cv.ii.
Saincte George what he signified. cv.i.
Sainct saiyng to Tullie, and his wittie answere to hym again. lxxxii.ii.
Sauegard had by Justice. xv.i.
Scurrilitee odious. ij.ii.
Scheme what it is. xciiii.i.
Sentences gathered, helpe amplification. lxvi.i.
Sergius Galba ouerthwarte answere. lxxvii.ii.
Shape euill fourmed mouth pastime. lxxviii.ii.
Shame followeth fearfulnesse, whe manhode is nedefull. xxxv.ii.
Shiftyng faultes from vs, howe it is saied. lvii.ii.
Similitude what it is. c.ii.
Simonides first founder of the arte of remembraunce.
Slaunder proued by amplificacion a greater offense then Theft. lxviii.i.
Snappishe askyng. xcviii.i.
Snudgyng, wittely rebuked. lxxvii and ii.
Sobrietee what it is. xix.ii.
Socrates. xxvii.
Sorowe nedelesse, when necessitee ruleth. xxxviii.ii.
Sorowe immoderate, not naturall. xlii.ii.
Souldiour mocked pleasauntly of his awne man. lxxxiii.i.
Spanyardes doubte. ci.
Staggues how long thei liue. xlv. and ii.
State generalli, what it is. xlviii.ii
State in iudgement what it is. xl. and viii.ii.
State why it is so called. xlviii.ii.
Stomacke grief. cvi.ii.
Straunge thynges nedefull to bee tolde. lviii.i.
Straunge reportes helpe for amplificacion. lxvi.i.
Storkes what nature thei. xcix.
Stoutenesse what it is. xviii.xix.ii.
Surfeityng rebuked by am. xlvii.ii

T.

Tacitus. cviii.ii.
Antalus. citii.ii.
Temperaunce what it is.xix
Thankefulnesse what it is.
xviii.ii.lxi..ii.
Themistocles memorie. cx.ii.
Themistocles perswasiō to the A-
thenians, by a fable. cv.ii.
Thynges gathered by a mānes sai-
yng, otherwise then heiment.lxxx.i.
Thynges notable or straunge help
well for amplification. lxvi.i.
Thracians lament at birthe, and
reioyce at buriall. xli.i.
Tobias pacience. xliiii.i.
Transmutacion of a worde.xciii.i.
Transumpcion what it is. xciii.ii.
Trauaill hard to whom. xvi.ii.
Trees not accursed, because Ap-
ples fall from them. xliii.i.
Trees liue longer then men.xlv.ii.
Tropes how thei wer found.xc.ii.
Trope what it signifieth. xci.ii.
Turnyng of a worde. lxxvii.i.
Tiberius Cesar. xlv.i.
Tyme must be obserued. v.ii.
Tyme of departyng life. viii.i.
Tyme a remedy for fooles to putte
awaie sorowe. xlii.ii.
Timon an hater of compa. xxx.ii.

V.

Vertues.iiii.in nōb. xvii.ii.
Vapte vsyng of apte wor-
des. lxxxviii.ii.
Vlpianus. xviiii.ii.
Vnnaturalnes in man xliii.i.
Vlibius Curius pleasauntly moc-
ked of Tullie. lxxxiii.
vipers what nature thei haue.xcix.
Virginitee. xxviii.ii
Vnthankefulnesse rebuked. cii.i.
Vnthankfulnes punished .cii.ii.
Vtteraunce what it is. cxvi.ii.

W.

Wantyng of thynges, make
pastyme. lxxii.i.
Warenesse in speakyng, and
forbearing to speak.v.ii.
Wrypyng pies. lxii.ii.
Whilht or warnyng geuen. cvi.i.
Willyam Somer. cvii.i.
Wishyng, right pleasaunt.lxxi.ii.
Wittie saiyng of a Philosoph.xxi.
Wittes forgetfull. cxiii.i.
Wittie deuised tale. lxvii.ii.
Wittie lye makyng. xcvi.ii.
Woe of this worlde, declared.xli.i.
Women rebuked. lx.ii.
Wordes doubtfully spoke. lxvi.i.
Wordes taken and not the.lxvii.i.
Worde makyng what it is. xcii.ii.
Wrōg dealyng deserueth death xl.i.
Wifes euill, happen to euill.xxi.i.
Wordes ouerthwart. lxvii.ii

X.

Xerxes. xxi.i.

Y.

Yelue what it is. xlviii.ii.
Yke horne letter. lxxvi.ii.
Yong Storkes. xiii.ii.

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